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ABSTRACT

The collection of native tales from King Island, Alaska, contains tales told originally in Inupiaq Eskimo by seven native elders. Introductory sections provide background information on the storytellers, King Island Village and its people, traditional life there, and the language of the King Islanders. The 25 tales are divided into groups: "The ways of the King Islanders" (women's tasks, grandmothers, rules for living); "The community house" (drumming, dances, origins of the wolf dance, entertainment); "Hunters" (great polar bear hunters, boys' role in the hunt, grandfathers, two King Islanders adrift, men who drifted away on the ice, cormorant hunters, two spirits out hunting); "Hauntings"; "Childbirth" (prolonged childbirth, unborn babies); and "Shamans." Texts are presented in Inupiaq on the left page and in English translation on the right page. Appended materials include notes on Eskimo names, photographs of King Island in 1974, and a map of King Island. A brief list of suggested readings is also included. (MSE)

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# UGIUVANGMIUT QULIAPYUIT

# KING ISLAND TALES

*Eskimo History and Legends from Bering Strait*

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# UGIUVANGMIUT QULIAPYUIT
# KING ISLAND TALES

*This book is dedicated to the elders of King Island,*
*those still living and those no longer with us.*

*Iqqaumatuina.lugit puuyanagit ipkua utuqanaavut.*

# UGIUVANGMIUT QULIAPYUIT
# KING ISLAND TALES

*Eskimo History and Legends from Bering Strait*

Told in Inupiaq Eskimo by
Frank Ellanna (Iilana)
Aloysius Pikonganna (Pikkuŋana)
Mary Muktoyuk (Qigiqtaq)
Magdaline Omiak (Taaġluk)
Catherine Kasgnoc (Aalik)
Annie Pullock (Ayukuk)
Clara Sirloak (Ullaaqhaq)

Collected by
Gertrude Analoak (Appaaya)
Margaret Seeganna (Tukkunaq)
Mary Alexander

Photographs by
Bernard R. Hubbard, S. J.
(except where indicated)

Transcribed and translated by
Margaret Seeganna (Tukkunaq)
Gertrude Analoak (Appaaya)

Compiled and edited by
Lawrence D. Kaplan

with assistance from
Margaret Yocom

Foreword by
Louis L. Renner, S. J.

Introduction by
Ursula Ellanna (Utamana)
Margaret Seeganna (Tukkunaq)
Lawrence D. Kaplan

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About the title: In the Inupiaq orthography, the title should rightly be spelled Ugiuvaŋmiut Quliapyuit. However, because of typographic and bibliographic constraints, we have chosen to spell it Ugiuvangmiut Quliapyuit.

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# Foreword

*Louis L. Renner, S.J.*

Father Bernard R. Hubbard, S.J., widely known as "The Glacier Priest," first set foot in Alaska in 1927. During the next thirty years this Jesuit priest, working out of Santa Clara University in California, routinely spent his summers in Alaska on various expeditions, and the better part of his winters on lecture tours around the nation. He went to Alaska not as a missionary but as an explorer, amateur geologist, and expert photographer.

Hubbard did spend one winter in Alaska—1937-38—on King Island in Bering Strait. While on that small, isolated, often fog-shrouded islet, he took literally thousands of still pictures of almost every aspect of an essentially intact, ongoing, indigenous Eskimo society that hunted marine mammals and traded along the mainland coasts in summer, traveling by skin boat.

Anthropologists Sergei Bogojavlensky and Robert W. Fuller, who made in-depth studies of the King Islanders and their way of life, have described Hubbard's King Island photographs as "superb prints, perceptive pictures of the highest artistic quality and scientific interest...an extremely important resource in North American and Arctic ethnohistory. The ethnographic and historical significance of these photographs is enormous. To our knowledge there exists no comparable photographic record of an aboriginal sovereign state in all of Arctic ethnology."

The Hubbard photo collection is located in the Santa Clara University Archives. In the mid-1980s the photos in this collection were indexed and catalogued by Dorothy Jean Ray, foremost authority on the Bering Strait - Seward Peninsula area and Eskimo art. The photos in this book, however, were made from prints in the *Alaskan Shepherd* collection, which is in the care of the Catholic Diocese of Fairbanks. This collection is an extensive, though incomplete, duplicate set of originals.

# Preface

*Lawrence D. Kaplan*

The King Island stories and narratives included in this collection were recorded on tape in Nome, Alaska, in 1983, under the auspices of the Eskimo Heritage Program of Kawerak, Inc. Funded originally by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Eskimo Heritage Program trained native speakers of Eskimo languages in the Bering Strait area of Northwest Alaska to collect oral history and legends in the villages where they lived. Those who contributed material did so without remuneration in order that their knowledge be preserved and made available to younger generations. The work was conducted under the direction of a panel of elders. Two King Islanders, Margaret Seeganna and her daughter, Gertrude Analoak, collected most of the material found in this book and completed transcriptions and translations of it.

To the elders of King Island we express profound gratitude for generously sharing their knowledge and for their commitment to seeing these stories appear in print. We extend further thanks to the people who assisted in the production of this book. Mary Alexander, director of the Eskimo Heritage Program from 1980 to 1985, was instrumental in overseeing the collection of vast quantities of oral narrative for a number of groups, including the King Islanders, and she encouraged all those involved with this book. Father Louis Renner, editor of the *Alaskan Shepherd*, read the manuscript at several stages and offered invaluable advice, also making available to us Father Hubbard's photographs of King Island. Anthropologist Linda Ellanna made helpful comments on the manuscript. Sister Alice Sullivan provided biographical information about the storytellers. Lorraine Elder designed and laid out the book and made editorial suggestions.

# About the Storytellers

FRANK ELLANNA (Iilana, b. circa 1904)

Frank Ellanna was one of the youngest men to become a boat captain. He married Ursula (Utamana) in 1929. Now in his eighties, Frank is still active with the King Island Singers and Dancers. He spends his summers camping, fishing, and hunting.

ALOYSIUS PIKONGANNA (Pikkuŋana, b. circa 1909, d. 1986)

Aloysius Pikonganna, the fifth in a line of well-known storytellers named Pikonganna, was an active hunter and a principal singer for the King Island Dancers. He was also nationally renowned for his ivory carving.

MARY MUKTOYUK (Qigiqtaq, b. circa 1904, d. 1985)

Mary was a composer as well as a dancer. She made several of the songs still sung today. Mary was a willing teacher and was known as a peacemaker. She was very glad to share food or anything else that was needed, and many people sought her advice.

MAGDALINE OMIAK (Taaġluk, b. circa 1911, d. 1986)

A very active woman, Magdaline sewed, picked greens, and fished. She was a graceful and energetic dancer, and she performed regularly with the King Island Dancers.

CATHERINE KASGNOC (Aalik, b. 1918)

Catherine still spends the better part of the year camping, picking berries and greens, and preserving the winter food supply. She was raised by her grandparents and knows many of the old ways. A well-known singer, she was a leader of the King Island Choir.

ANNIE PULLOCK (Ayukuk, b. 1917, d. 1986)

Annie was Aloysius Pikonganna's younger sister. A quiet person, she was a good sewer and an excellent knitter.

CLARA SIRLOAK (Ullaaqhaq, b. 1913, d. 1987)

Clara, the inseparable friend of Magdaline Omiak, was a skilled seamstress. She made clothing and mukluks for her family until shortly before her death. She spent springs and early summers picking and preserving greens, and she was a tireless berry-picker. Clara helped coach the King Islanders for their performance in 1982 of the almost forgotten Wolf Dance.

URSULA ELLANNA (Utamana, b. 1908, d. 1983)

Orphaned when quite young, Ursula and her sisters and brothers were raised at the Pilgrim Springs Mission on the Seward Peninsula north of Nome. She and two of her sisters married King Islanders and moved to the island. Ursula was a spokesperson for the King Islanders during the land claims hearings and the environmental impact studies done in Norton Sound. It was she who first said "The sea is our garden," which became a rallying point throughout the hearings.

MARGARET SEEGANNA (Tukkunaq, b. 1914)

Margaret's family was from Big Diomede, but Margaret was orphaned when she was young. She grew up at the Pilgrim Springs Mission, then married King Islander Louis Seeganna and spent most of her adult life on King Island. Margaret has been active in education and taught Inupiaq language and culture at the Nome Elementary School. She was a fieldworker for the Eskimo Heritage Program from its beginning, collecting, transcribing, and translating oral narratives, and she has done much for the Elders' Conference held annually in Nome.

# Introduction

# King Island Village and Its People

*Ursula Ellanna*

No one really knows who the first people on King Island were or how they started their village. The old people of our times have told much about the way things were done long ago and how people got the things they needed. Men went out in skin boats and brought back driftwood that they found at sea so it could be used for building houses and boat frames. They hunted for walrus and bearded seal, whose skins were used to cover the wooden *qayaq* (kayak) and *umiaq* (umiak) frames. Walruses and seals provided the sinew that was braided to make thread for sewing skins together. Caribou skins and sinew were obtained by trading with the villages on the mainland. King Islanders traveled far in their skin boats to trade with other villages, sometimes going as far as Kotzebue or Point Hope. They paddled their skin boats or used sails, sometimes pulling the boats along the shore with walrus rawhide thongs. Many times King Island people went up to Siberia to trade with the people at East Cape.

When the King Islanders crossed the Bering Sea to the mainland of the Seward Peninsula, the women came along and took time to pick berries to store for use in the winter. They had hides of hair seals and bearded seals and walrus rawhide thongs, which they traded for dried fish with mainland Eskimos.

Fall was the time of great celebrations, when the *qagrit* (men's houses or community houses; singular: *qagri*) would hold dances and feasts. There were many different drum songs and dances. Fall was also the hunters' favorite season; they hunted from their kayaks. Men fifteen years and older had kayaks, and they used them to hunt and support their families. From their kayaks they harpooned *ugruk* (bearded seal),

*URSULA ELLANNA. Women used to cook outdoors in the spring, saving the cooked meat and walrus skin in sealskin pokes that were taken along to Nome during the annual summer visit. Here Ursula cuts up walrus flippers for cooking.*

which slept with their heads out of the water when the sea was rough. When hunting walrus from skin boats, they tied a walrus rawhide thong to each end of the boat, and to one of these they attached the walrus rawhide thong of the harpoon. When a boat crew got a walrus, the captain always got half. There were special ways of dividing walrus, ugruk, polar bear, and seals into shares.

Fall was the time when cormorants were taken from the steep cliffs around the base of the island. Men tied walrus rawhide thongs around their waists so that they would not fall when they were lowered down the cliffs to find cormorants. They caught other birds with snares made



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*UMIAK. This boat is being towed by another on its way to Nome. A kayak is tied to the storm guard holders, upright pieces of wood fitted into the gunwale. The uprights hold a storm tarp in place during rough weather.*

of thin strips of seal rawhide, and children took small birds from cracks in the rocks.

When winter came, the King Islanders tanned skins for making parkas, sealskin breeches, mittens, and mukluks. All the hunters had warm hunting socks made from the leg skin of reindeer or caribou. If someone fell into the water, the first thing he did when he got out was to take off his mukluks and socks and turn his socks inside out, rubbing the fur with dry snow and then shaking it off to dry the fur. The hunter's knife was one of his most important possessions, and hunters always wore their knives in their belts. A hunter who fell into the water

next to a high ridge of ice would plunge his knife into the ice to help support himself.

Hunters had to watch the weather carefully. The unpredictable currents around the island might have caused many men to lose their lives if not for the quick thinking of some. A lead might open suddenly in the ice, separating men from the shore and trapping them on an ice floe. In this situation, two kayaks were tied together so that someone could go rescue the men, but only if there was no wind. Long ago there were a number of men who knew about weather conditions and could predict whether it would be calm or windy; younger people followed their advice.

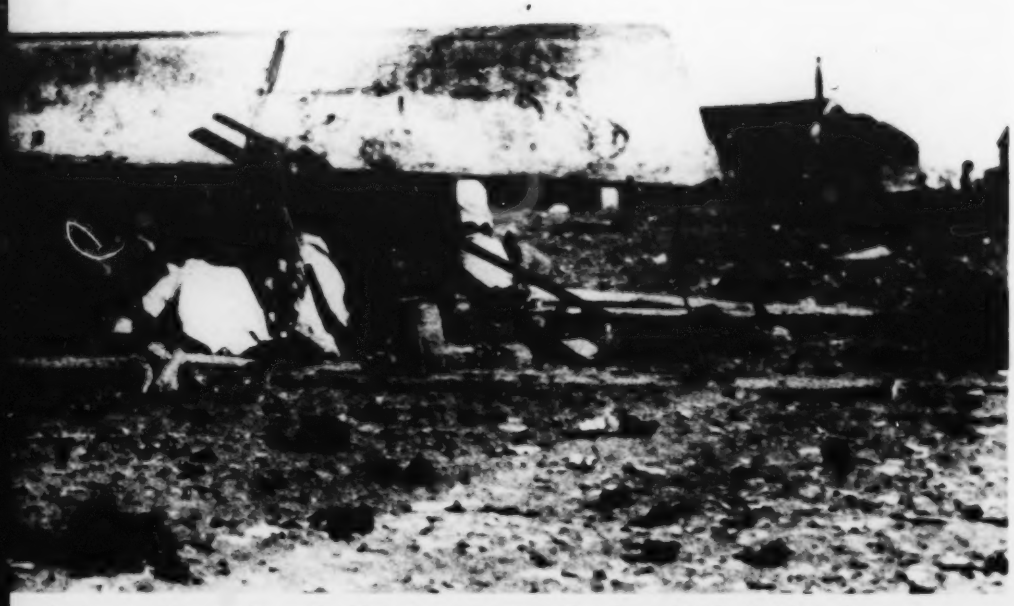
The *qagri* (community house) was an important center of village life. People liked to listen to the storytellers, and if a man had good stories or legends, he might be invited to another qagri. If there was something he needed, he might receive it in payment for his storytelling from the people of the other qagri. People made tools and utensils in the qagri. They cut baleen (whalebone) into strips to make fishing line, and they made hooks from all kinds of rocks. Cooking pots were made out of clay, shovels from the shoulder blades of walruses, and knives from jade or flint, which were also used for harpoon heads. Snow goggles, which prevented hunters from becoming snow-blind when the bright spring sun reflected off the snow and ice, were made from driftwood or tree bark. Buckets and seal oil containers were made from logs that drifted down the coast. The qagri was the men's workplace, where boat frames might be built. Even the drying and tanning of skins might be done there.

In spring, whalers would come to trade their goods. They offered tobacco, guns, and shells in exchange for mukluks and parkas. Sometimes they would take a few good hunters with them, bringing them back in the fall. Many ugruk were taken in spring, and the hunter who got one would share it with the old people who could not hunt anymore. Hunters would go out as early in the morning as they could. If there were boys playing on the rocks when the hunters shoved off in their kayaks, the boys might wish them luck and place a little piece of

*NOME CAMP. When the King Islanders spent summers in Nome, they often camped under a skin Father Lafortune. Visible, from left to right, are Stan Muktoyuk, John Aulaġana, and Frank Aayiiq.*

wood on the kayak of a particular hunter. If he was then successful in hunting, the hunter would give a share to the boy that had brought him luck. When a boy got his first seal or ugruk, he gave it away to people in need. When a polar bear was killed, its skin was cut into pieces and shared. A special dance was held to honor the polar bear's spirit. The spring walrus hunt was the most important of all, since large quantities of meat would be gathered and stored for winter. Men would go to sea in their umiaks to reach the ice floes where walrus are found in spring.

Sometimes in the winter months people starved, especially during long periods of bad weather when the men could not hunt. No one threw away pieces of walrus or sealskin; they used them as food after



*boat propped on wooden racks. Here they carve ivory that they will sell. At left, walking, is*

soaking them in water, and scraping, cleaning, and cooking them. If people ran short of food and oil, they might move into the qagri to share warmth and food with other families.

In the early part of this century, flu epidemics hit the island and many people died. When children lost their parents, good-hearted couples would adopt the children or just take them and raise them as their own, so that when they grew up they would be able to help with whatever work there was to do. When people died, their relatives would wrap them in a piece of skin and take the remains to the place they had requested. They were laid to rest with their possessions.

*TOP: Aloysius Pikonganna fishes for blue cod through the ice.*

*ABOVE: About to go ice fishing, Sakkana carries an ice pick and ice scoop in one hand and an ice fishing stool in the other.*

*RIGHT: Amaasuk holds two least auklets that he hooked from their nest on the cliffs at the island's edge.*

# Traditional Life on King Island

*Margaret Seeganna*

DWELLINGS

Before contact with white men had any impact on the way they lived, King Islanders had rock-covered houses called *iglut* (igloos) and dwellings built on stilts. The stilts made it possible to build houses on the island's steep slopes, which rise from the sea at nearly a forty-five-degree angle. Long driftwood poles were wedged into the earth so that they rested on bedrock; earth and rocks were then pressed around these stilts to hold them firmly. Platforms of split driftwood logs were built on top of the stilts to serve as the flooring of the structure. Generally, two large rooms were built on top of a platform and served as separate dwellings in a sort of duplex. These rooms were built at the back of the platform with another long space in front, the length of both rooms. This was the storm shed, used for storage. In the middle was a door leading to the outer porch.

The single-room dwellings were built on a platform which was insulated with moss and topped with flooring of split logs. Some walls were also of split logs. The ceiling and other walls were of driftwood logs, four or five inches in diameter. The ceiling was insulated with moss and the walls with straw-like grass. The storage sheds had driftwood frames. Inner layers of split walrus hides were stretched over the entire dwelling to protect against wind and weather. The hides and parts of the house were lashed with thongs, one-half-inch wide or a little wider, of young walrus or young ugruk hide.

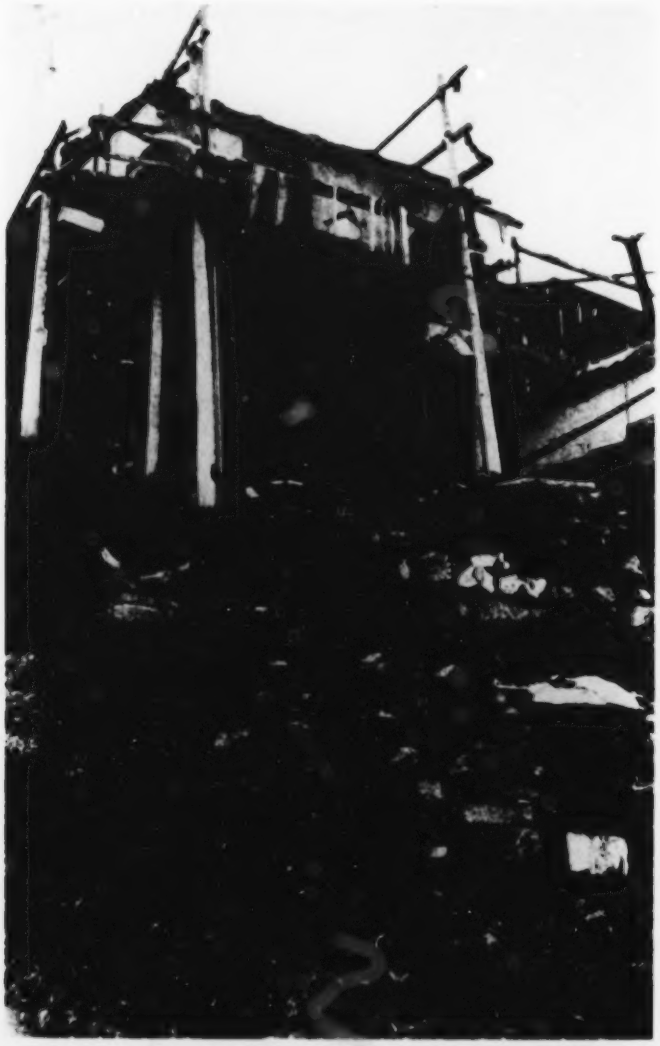
The living space was small and had a small window and door covered with translucent ugruk intestine. The doorway was a small opening that people crawled through to enter the room. A seal-oil lamp with

*KING ISLAND DWELLING. Insulated with moss and covered with stretched walrus hides tied with thongs, this structure is typical of traditional King Island houses of the early part of this century.*

a moss wick heated the houses. Above the lamp hung a multi-purpose rack used for drying clothing and footwear. High on one wall, a small, square hole to the outside provided ventilation. These structures were built to withstand fierce gales and blizzards, which sometimes raged for weeks in the wintertime. The driftwood used for construction was sometimes washed up on the island shore by fall gales or found floating at sea and hauled back by skin boats.

Rock igloos were dug halfway into the side of the island and had driftwood interiors. Rocks were piled around the fronts and sides, and the roofs were insulated with moss and covered with walrus hide. A person had to stoop to pass through the small entrance tunnel, which led to the doorway opening into the single room. The igloos, like the stilt houses, were heated by seal oil lamps and had ventilation holes.

King Island village also had three large qagrit. Like the igloos, these



*STILT HOUSES AND ROCK CACHES. The caches held barrels of greens, oil, blubber, and dried meat. Canvas flaps, covered with a layer of ugruk intestine and held in place by whale vertebrae, sealed the doorways. Quvisuk, a midwife, can be seen at the upper left.*



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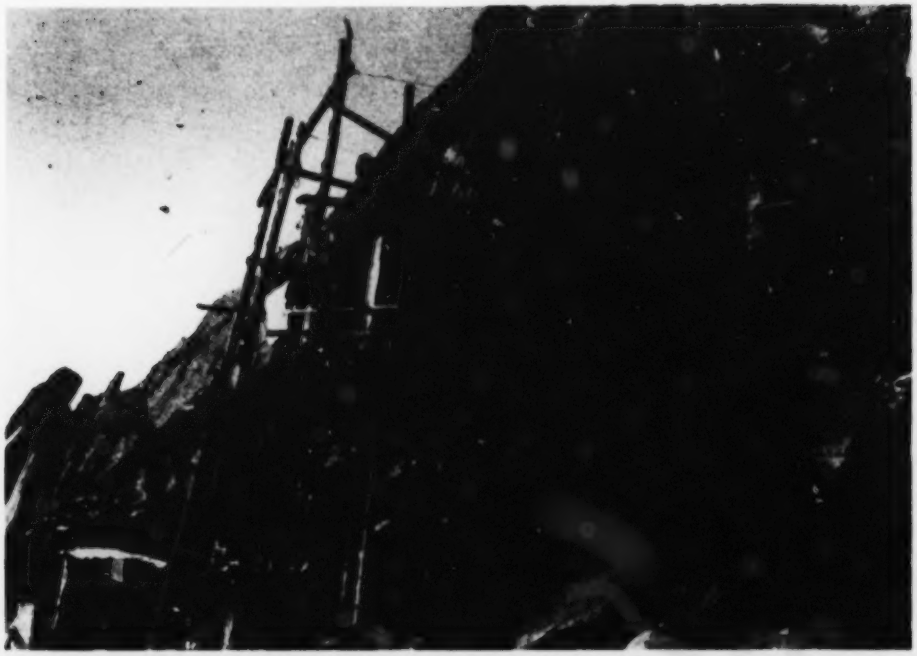


*ALOYSIUS PIKONGANNA'S HOUSE. The cliffs behind the house are called Laqłaagviit. They extend to the top of the island.*

large structures were dug into the side of the island. They had driftwood interiors and a large ugruk intestine skylight. A long entrance tunnel led to the doorway, where one climbed up into the qagri through a hole in the floor. This arrangement prevented cold air from rushing into the building when the door was opened. Large driftwood beams supported the ceiling both lengthwise and crosswise, resting on sturdy poles made of whole logs placed in each of the four corners. A bench ran all around the room. The qagrit had arched roofs, were quite high, and contained approximately thirty square feet of floor space.

These community houses served many functions. Families were members of a particular qagri, and the men went there to work on their

*ATOP QALUILAT QAGRI. Women cut walrus flippers and* **kauk** *(walrus hide with blubber) to cook outdoors in large pots. The cooked flippers and kauk were stored in sealskin pokes.*

tools and hunting equipment. They made umiaq frames and qayaq frames, snowshoes, hunting implements of all sorts, and they also carved ivory. Elders taught young men the techniques of hunting. People recounted ancient legends and myths and told contemporary stories. Qagri members held celebrations to which they invited other qagrit to join in dancing and singing. Ceremonial rituals, which often included feasts, were held here. One important cause for celebration was the killing of a polar bear. Young unmarried men slept in the qagrit, and women even butchered entire bearded seals in them. Seal-oil lamps heated and illuminated the old qagrit.

*FRANK ELLANNA. Frank wears an ugruk intestine rain parka, sealskin mitts, sealskin pants, and mukluks. Men typically wore this waterproof gear in their kayaks.*

The special moss used to insulate buildings grows in profusion on King Island. People picked it in the spring and laid it out to dry while the days were long, warm, and dry. Grass resembling straw was gathered in spring or early fall, and like moss, it had to be carried in backpacks up one side of the island and back down to the village. King Island is over one thousand feet high.

## TRADITIONAL HUNTING

In the traditional culture hunters followed set rules. When a man awoke in the early morning, he first went to the door of the storm shed

in his bare feet to check the weather. No matter how cold the weather was, he could not cover his feet. If the weather was favorable, he then put on his hunting clothes. If he was going hunting, he was allowed only a drink of cold water; he could eat nothing until he returned home.

A good hunter always kept his bearings and closely watched the world around him. First, he looked for signs to indicate that the weather would remain stable during his day's hunt. He noted the direction in which the sea ice was moving and where the wind was coming from. The weather in Bering Strait is among the most unreliable in the world. Sea currents and winds can break huge ice floes apart in seconds. A good hunter needed sharp senses. Keen awareness could mean the difference between life and death to a hunter on the ice.

King Island hunters did not use dog teams because the many high pressure ridges in the ice along the shore would not permit it. Instead, a hunter had a dog or two trained to warn of changes in the wind. A good hunting dog would lift its head, sniff the air, and if it detected danger, utter a warning cry, which was a guttural, whimpering sound. The good hunter understood and started home. Hunters went out whenever the weather permitted, even though hunting was a dangerous undertaking.

Originally, Eskimo clothing was made of fur and skin. Weapons and hunting implements were of ivory, bone, jade, flint, and driftwood. Women made their husbands a new set of hunting clothes each fall. Everything was made anew: sealskin breeches, an underparka with the fur turned in, reindeer leggings with the fur turned out, sealskin mukluks and mitts with the hair left on, fur mitt liners, sealskin mitts with the hair removed to make them waterproof, a waterproof parka of ugruk intestine, and a ground squirrel parka with the fur turned out to be worn over the inner parka in very cold weather. A hunter went through several pairs of mukluks each winter and used his waterproof pair in the spring when days grew long and warm. In his backpack a hunter had a short paddle with a groove in the handle where he could tie his spear to make the paddle longer.

*JOHN AULAGANA. Hunters found seal pups in late April or early May and brought them home as pets for children. The blotches on Aulagana's face were caused by vitiligo, a skin condition which made him especially sensitive to the spring sun.*

*KING ISLAND VILLAGE. Taken in about 1955, this photo shows clearly the predominance of frame construction of the houses in the latter half of this century. The church (upper left) and school (lower right) are visible. (Photo by Fr. George E. Carroll, S.J.)*

## WEATHER

During fall King Island experiences storms that rage with very high tides and gale force winds. Usually these storms come out of the southeast, shift to the southwest, calm down a little, and then build again. Then the north wind sets in. Sometimes the cycle begins again, and

there is a long wait before the weather dies down. The men used to climb up from the village, which faces due south, and go over the top of the island to the back shore, where they caught little red "rock fish" (sculpins; Inupiaq: *kanayut*) between the boulders at times when the weather moderated and shore ice had not yet set in. Seals come close to shore at this time of year, and the men hunted them by spearing them when they surfaced.

Shore ice formed sometime in fall, often about mid-November, but at first it usually was blown out to sea by the north wind. By about mid-December, the ice was generally solid enough for the men to venture out and hunt. Seal hunting was excellent during the last half of December. Also, as soon as there was solid shore ice, older women and young men started ice fishing and crabbing.

During January the weather changed. The north wind brought snow and blizzards which lasted nearly the whole month. If the wind was from the northwest, it brought from the Chukchi Sea the permanent pack ice on which polar bears roam. After a brief period of good hunting weather, there was often a warm spell in February, lasting the whole month, during which people hunted, ice fished, and crabbed.

March brought some of the worst blizzards of the year, and large amounts of snow accumulated. Men began to look forward to the spring hunts of April, and they brought their kayaks into the qagrit for repairs and sometimes a new skin cover.

April brought sunshine. Men began hunting bearded seals from kayaks, which were easier to maneuver than umiaks in the narrow leads through the spring sea ice. Kayaks were very portable; hunters pulled them over the ice on a light hand sled with ivory-shod runners. Between hunts by kayak, skin boat owners repaired their umiaks and checked their walrus hide covers.

## BOATS

Every man, young or adult, owned his own kayak, and these skin-covered canoes were considered essential for survival. Kayak-making required fine and delicate work and was a greater art even than skin

boat building. Kayak makers, people with particular talent who specialized in this area, were busy most of the time working to fill orders from the hunters of the village. Sometimes even an expert hunter might lack the skills to make a kayak. Those who made kayaks were usually older men who had stopped hunting and could devote a great deal of time to their art.

The party who commissioned the building of a kayak usually supplied the necessary materials. A special sort of driftwood was used for the frame, which also required a great deal of seal rawhide thong. The kayak maker measured the future owner of the kayak. His height, weight, the length of each arm, the distance from elbow to fingertips, and the distance from fingertip to fingertip with arms outstretched were carefully noted. Special thread was made ready for sewing the skin cover onto the kayak frame, and a number of other details were attended to.

When a young man had his first kayak made, he felt proud. The event signified his acceptance as a man and helped establish his identity, for he knew that he was expected to prove his trustworthiness and stamina, and by so doing would gain dignity in the community. The kayak owner was expected to feel indebted to the one who had built his kayak.

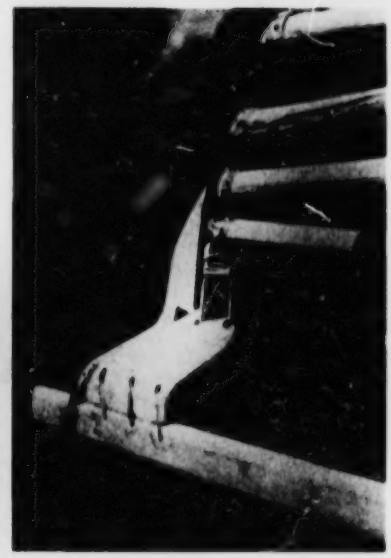
An umiak took longer to make than a kayak, because of the variety and amounts of materials required: seal rawhide thong, bearded seal and baby walrus rawhide thong, and specially shaped driftwood which was fashioned into pieces for the bow and stern. Every piece was shaped to fit precisely. Any loose piece was lashed to the frame with seal rawhide thong.

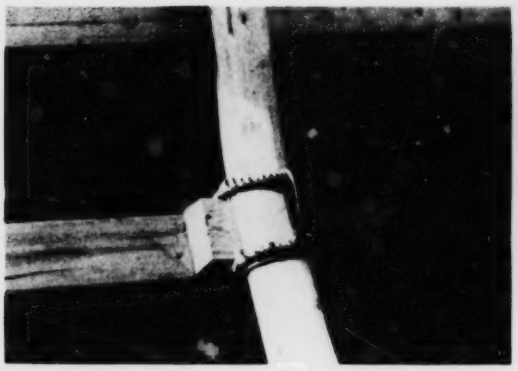
It took more than a year to gather all the materials needed. The slats and ribs for the frame were carved and kept in the community house through the winter. Sometime in April, a large, level area was cleared of snow. The boat crew would assemble the parts and begin lashing them together with thongs. It was tedious work and hard on the hands, but the crewmen enjoyed it. Sometimes the work was hampered by weather. The women served snacks and full meals to the men as they worked.

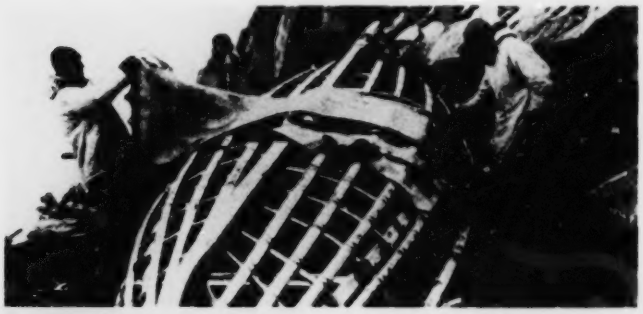
*ABOVE: Men inside an umiak frame lash the wooden ribs to the lengthwise stringers.*

*RIGHT: Pieces lashed together form the prow of an umiak.*

*BELOW: Seal rawhide line is used to lash the frame together.*







*ABOVE: After soaking in saltwater for one or two days, the hides are pliable. Women sew the hides together, then men lay them over the frame. This thirty-foot umiak was made for Father Hubbard.*

*LEFT: Frank Patuŋnaq and his brother Aisana put a walrus hide cover on a boat frame.*

*BELOW: Men stretch a walrus hide cover over a wooden boat frame, lashing it with thongs of walrus hide.*

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***KAYAK REPAIR.** Bernard Kasgnoc works on his kayak on top of his house while his neighbor lashes a walrus hide to the top of his storage shed. People often worked on the roofs of buildings because they were among the largest flat areas in the village.*

Cross-cousins joked and teased to help lighten the burden of the work.

A young man who was learning to do the lashing was closely watched and instructed. He was left on his own at times, and periodically an older man would check his work. If the young man's attempts were not of acceptable quality, he was made to rip out and redo what he had done. In this manner he learned the art of lashing the parts of the skin boat frame together.

This process took two weeks or so. When the frame had been lashed together, it was transported to the base of the island, to a place on the shore ice where it did not hinder those going out in their kayaks to hunt bearded seals in the spring. Hunters had to have their kayaks ready to

go out at a moment's notice when game was sighted on the ice.

Women were kept busy making the thread that would be used to sew the skins together to form the cover for the umiak frame. The thread was made from sinew taken from reindeer legs, and from the backs of walrus, bearded seals, and beluga whales. Women softened the sinew and separated it into bundles of strips tied neatly together. Stripping the different kinds of sinew was quite time-consuming. Beluga sinew was long and strong and served as a guide for making the thread. The other types of sinew were wound around these guide strips and all were braided together. The threads were usually from sixteen to twenty feet long and tapered to a point at each end. Other lengths and thicknesses of braided sinew were used to sew clothing. Boat seams were double-lapped, and two pieces of thread matched in length were used for each.

Two women worked on each seam. They started in the middle and sewed away from each other, tightening stitches to make them waterproof, and sewing in such a way that no stitches showed on the outside of the cover. Women had to make sure that they had made enough thread for all the seams and for any hides that needed to be patched. Larger boats had four double seams in addition to any patches.

## CELEBRATIONS AND RITUALS

Toward the end of the year, men and women were very busy despite the few hours of daylight. During the shortest days of the year, men made or repaired parts of their hunting outfits in preparation for the hunts of the coming winter when the days would gradually increase in length. Women sewed new hunting garments for their husbands, brothers, or sons. In spite of all these activities, men and women were obligated to participate fully in the evening celebrations and rituals, most of which involved dancing, and they had to be punctual.

The King Islanders call December Sauya.tuġvik, The Time of Drumming, because in the weeks before the winter solstice, when the shortest days of the year occur, traditional rituals were at their height. After

*MARGARET SEEGANNA. She carries on her back a skin bag containing meat and blubber. A walrus hide is on the snow behind her, and three skin boats are in the background. This was taken during the spring walrus hunt.*

the solstice, celebrations continued but tapered off somewhat, picking up momentum again around the spring equinox. Like people of other cultures around the world, Eskimos had major celebrations in winter and spring, at about the same time that the important Christian holy days of Christmas and Easter occur.

Traditional Eskimo dancing had many purposes and meanings, and dances were held for nearly every occasion. Dance was related to survival of the community because it boosted morale and could represent success, failure, joy, sorrow, life, death, comedy, and sacredness, among other things. The dances told stories, and the words of dance songs matched the movements of the performers. Great feats and accomplishments of kinsmen were reenacted in dance. For example, if a man went hunting during a time of famine or bad weather and brought back a polar bear or a bearded seal to feed the village, a member of his immediate family or a close relative might compose a song with accompanying motions to reenact the event. These dances were kept within the

family and handed down through the generations.

The giving of thanks was part of dance. Thanksgiving comes naturally to the Eskimos, who live in harsh environments, and they periodically give thanks to the Great Provider for their livelihood. The King Islanders, like all of Alaska's Native peoples, lived very closely with their surroundings. They believed that all nature was alive and that everything had its own being. Animals had special spirits and were greatly revered. People lived in fear of offending these beings and spirits. For the King Islanders, there was an all-powerful being in control of the universe, someone who oversaw all of nature. This was Silam Inua, the Lord of the Universe. The moon, sun, stars, and earth also had spirits which kept them alive, and even the land, sea, and rocks had beings within them. All the spirits were closely involved in the many ceremonies and rites, and the people entreated the weather gods for favorable conditions.

Sea mammals were believed to have special and very powerful spirits, which were highly respected. It was believed that the spirits of dead mammals would return to their own kind to report on how they had been treated in the village where they had been killed. If they had been treated well, other animals would be willing to give themselves to hunters of that village. It was therefore forbidden to antagonize or speak ill of these spirits.

When a hunter brought home a sea mammal he had killed, his wife would butcher it and clean it, and then, according to the custom, she would snip off a little piece of meat and blubber and throw it away. This was done to appease the spirit of the animal, in hopes that it would not be offended by having been killed, since its meat and blubber were being put to good use by people who needed it to survive. People were always grateful to the animal spirits and especially to Silam Inua, and they felt obliged to share what they had with the whole community. Great hunters felt that Silam Inua gave them more than their share and that it was only right that they share with others; the food they had had been given to them freely, and they could go out again to get more. Hunters learned to aim carefully so that animals would die

*WALRUS BUTCHERING. Ignatius Aalik (left) and his father, Tony Pushruk, prepare to cut this walrus into shares.*

with a minimum of suffering, and children were taught never to tease or torture animals, because if they did, the offended animal spirits would prevent them from becoming good hunters.

When a young hunter killed his first seal or other sea mammal, it was an occasion of great importance for his family. The hunter gave the catch away to a close relative, often to a needy widow with small children, hoping that the animal spirits would be appeased and that he would someday become a great hunter.

## QAITQUQ: THE COLD STORAGE CAVE

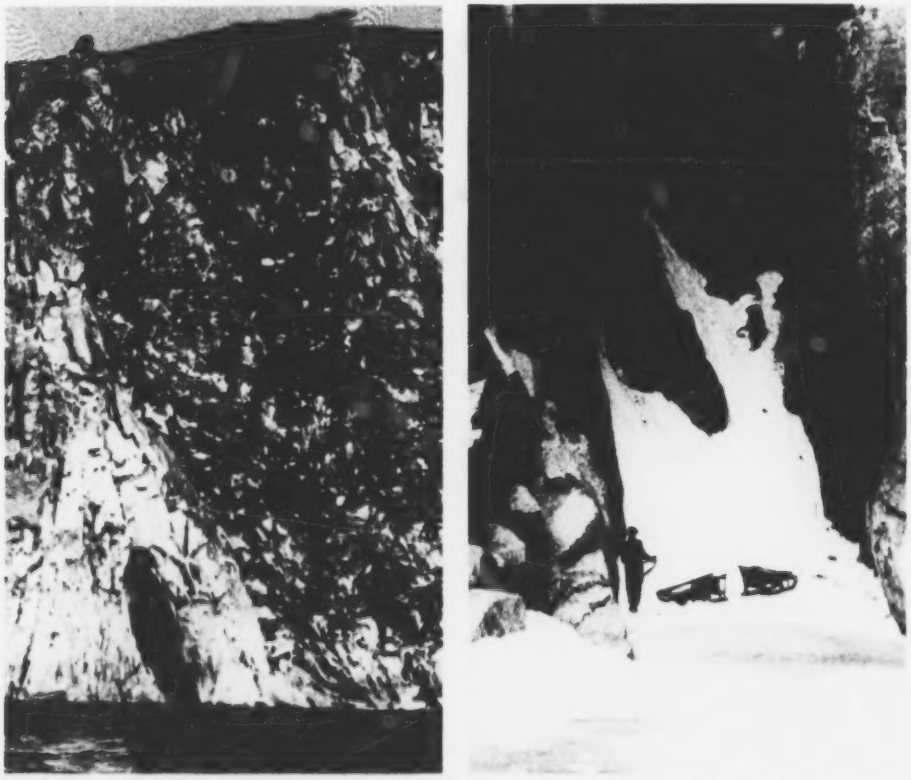
About a quarter of a mile to the east of King Island village, there is a big cave that the people used for cold storage of walrus meat. This cave has walls of permafrost, making it an ideal place to store food. Other such caves around the island were used in the days when King Island had more than one village on it. From the outside, the Qaitquq

cave looks triangular, peaked at the top. The entrance is narrow and the sea extends some distance inside. Past the entrance, the cave opens wide inside. There are boulders along the waterline, and beyond these, a large, level space, thirty to forty feet wide, covered with moss. On one side of this space is a sheer cliff and on the other, an irregular wall.

Facing the cliff, one can see an opening high on the right side and another smaller one to the left at ground level, which a person must enter in a sitting position, dangling his legs inside and twisting his body until he can lower himself in. Two steps lead into the storage area, below sea level, where there are two separate caves. The lower one, called *ataniq*, is roomy with a high ceiling. On both sides at the base of the walls, pits have been carved into the rock to be used as storage space. There are at least ten such pits, and they are three to four feet deep and about the same diameter. Oil-soaked moss, which was burned on ugruk shoulder blades, lighted the cave.

The entrance to the upper cave, called *qulliq*, is much larger and harder to get to because of its height. People would throw a thick thong over a jutting rock just under the entrance, allowing them to scale the cliff and enter the upper cave. The interior is an impressive sight. The cave is spacious and high, with many ice pillars in its center, some as large as a foot and a half in diameter. They are spaced irregularly. The pillars are crystal clear because they are of fresh water. When rays of sunlight penetrate the cave, rainbow colors glow among the pillars. They are said to be dangerous, for a loud noise or a movement of the earth can cause them to snap, falling onto others and breaking them in turn. The upper cave also has storage pits along the base of its walls, and toward the rear of it is an opening to another cave which is no longer used.

To go to the storage cave during the fall storms, people traveled overland on foot. They went in groups because this was a dangerous undertaking, and women went along too. They took with them rawhide thongs of different weights. One end of a thick thong was fastened to a boulder outside the cave, and the other end was tied to a person, who then swung himself into the cave, landing above the water line. All the



*QAITQUQ. The King Islanders used this cave for cold storage. They would take meat to the cave on sleds and then would use backpacks to carry it inside.*

members of the group except one swung themselves into the cave. The one who remained outside tended the thong, which he had to pull out of the cave when the people inside had tied pieces of meat to it. A number of thongs were used to pull the meat out of the cave, and the thongs were lowered back into the cave to repeat the process. The people exited the cave in the same way, despite treacherous rocks and raging sea, and they made their way back to the village, carrying the meat

on their backs. Along with other villagers, they would make a meal of some of what they had brought.

The cave was an important part of life on King Island because it allowed food to be kept fresh longer than would otherwise have been possible, and it helped the King Islanders stave off famine on more than one occasion.

# The Language of the King Islanders

*Lawrence D. Kaplan, Alaska Native Language Center*

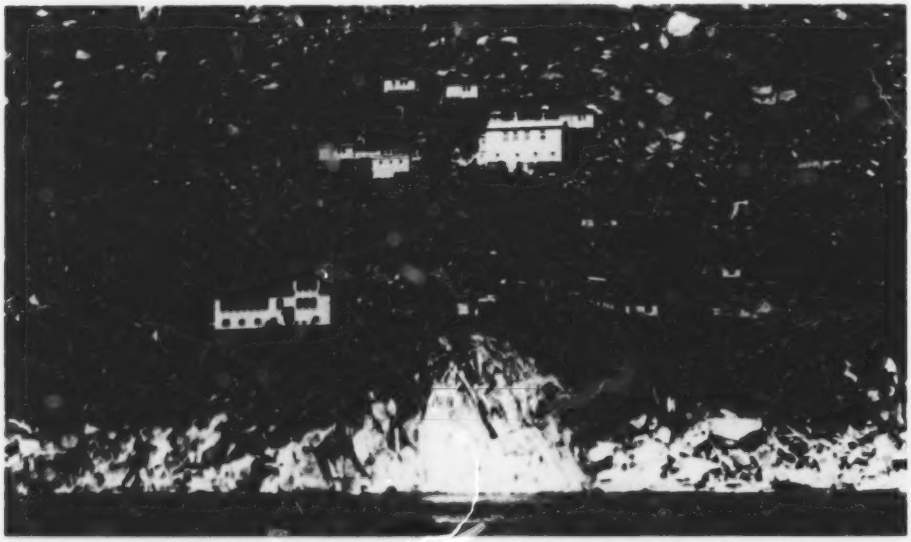
The Eskimo people of King Island, Alaska, speak a dialect of the Inupiaq language. The many dialects of Inupiaq are spoken by Eskimos across the Arctic from Greenland to Northwestern Alaska. In Southwestern Alaska and parts of Siberia near Alaska, Yupik Eskimo languages are spoken.

King Island Inupiaq is unique and is spoken only by people from this small island in the Bering Sea. The language of the King Islanders resembles that of other Bering Strait Eskimos, and is closest to the Inupiaq spoken by the people of the Diomede Islands located in the middle of Bering Strait. However, all the Inupiaq dialects in this area are so distinctive that a person's origins can be recognized fairly easily by the way he or she speaks. The King Islanders must have lived on their island for countless generations, allowing the language and customs of the people to develop in a unique way.

In the 1950s and 1960s the King Islanders moved to Nome on the Alaska mainland to be closer to the health care and other services Nome provides. When the number of schoolchildren declined, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) claimed that King Island was an isolated and undesirable location for teachers, and that the school there was threatened by rock slides. The BIA closed the King Island school permanently in 1959, and the last families moved to Nome in the early 1960s. Today King Island is uninhabited except in summer, when former residents and their families return to hunt, gather wild plants, and enjoy the natural beauty of their island.

## THE STORIES

The King Island stories and the accounts of King Island life presented here were related in Inupiaq by Eskimo elders, all of whom speak



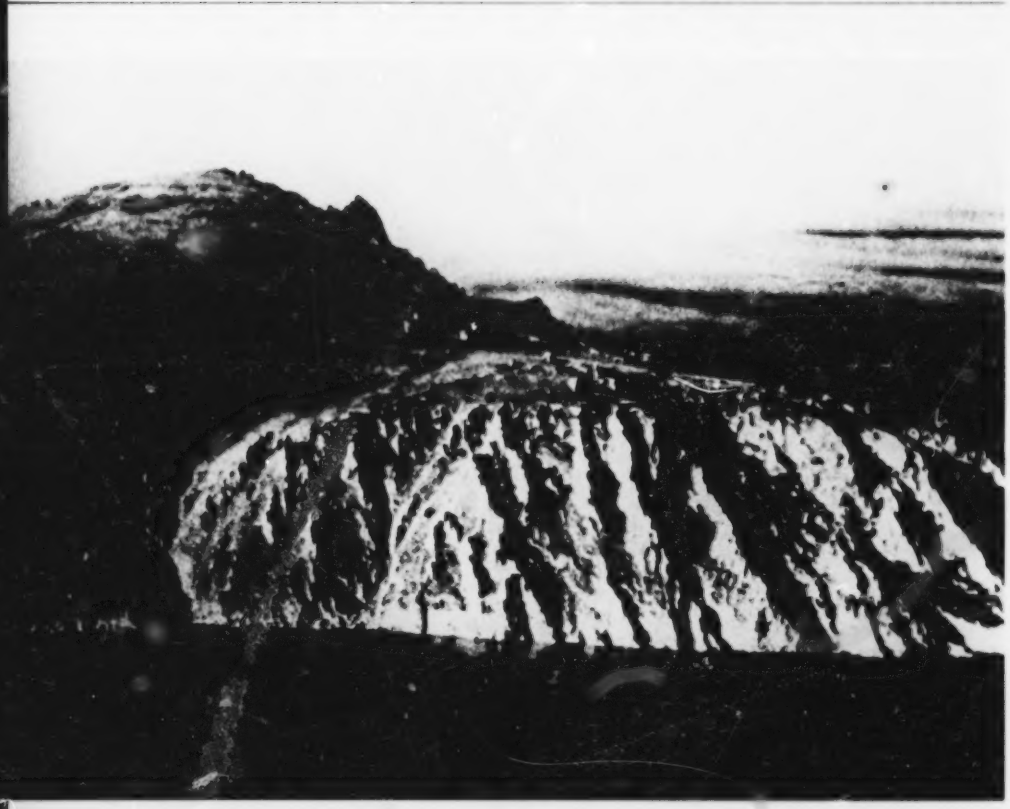
*KING ISLAND VILLAGE. The large white building, top center, is the Catholic church. To the left of the church are the four houses built by the Hubbard party in 1937. The school is at the lower left. The large rock by the water's edge is called* imuuraq.

Inupiaq as their first language, although most also know some English. Gertrude Analoak and her mother, Margaret Seeganna, both King Islanders, conducted interviews with the storytellers in Inupiaq and recorded the stories and accounts on tape. Margaret Seeganna then transcribed many of the tapes and translated most of them into English. Working with Margaret and Gertrude, I compiled and edited Inupiaq and English versions of the stories. Dr. Margaret Yocom assisted in many ways, helping to organize and compile the stories, edit the translations, and secure funding for printing. Titles of stories and accounts were given by the editors and not by the storytellers themselves. The introductory essays about King Island were written in English by Margaret Seeganna and Ursula Ellanna (Frank Ellanna's wife, now deceased). Margaret Seeganna, Gertrude Analoak, Margaret Yocom, and I selected photographs for the book from the Hubbard collection and wrote captions for them, based in part on information found in Renner

*KING ISLAND. The village is just to the right of center. (Photo from the Louis L. Renner Collection.)*

1983 and Bogojavlensky 1973.

For all of these stories, the Inupiaq versions are primary. These are the words of the storytellers, words which beautifully capture the nuances and details of the events they describe. The translations are secondary. They attempt to put into English stories which are closely tied to the traditional culture and environment of the King Islanders. Often, there are specific terms in Inupiaq for attitudes or relationships that are hard to render in English without using an entire sentence. Many geographical terms and place-names refer directly to King Island and re-



quire some sort of explanation in English. As a result, the translations sometimes are not literal. Even when an Inupiaq story may be perfectly clear to a King Islander who hears or reads it, additional information may be needed to enable others to understand it, and in such cases we have amplified the English version. We have done our best to convey the meaning intended by the storytellers, giving translations as close as possible to the original words and always bearing in mind the need to write a translation which retains the dignity of the original Inupiaq.

English versions contain some Inupiaq words which the King

*THE QALUILAT QAGRI ROOF. Men divide shares of walrus tusks at the flattest place in the village. From left: unidentified boy, Peter Nuyaqaq, unidentified boy, Thomas Sarmigana, Aisana, Charles Penatac, Romeo Atarana, John Aulagana, Gregory Ayaaq, Paul Anaulik. Walrus and ugruk hides dry on stretchers in the background.*

Islanders have adopted into their everyday English speech. The first occurrence of an Inupiaq word is followed by its English translation in parentheses, for example, *umiaq* (skin boat) and *qagri* (community house). Subsequently, we use only the Inupiaq word and omit the translation. Inupiaq place names, personal names, and some technical terms, such as the names of dances, also appear in the translations with explanation where appropriate.

The format of stories on the page is intended to reflect the organization of the oral original. Lines are numbered so that readers can move easily between Inupiaq and English versions of a story. The end of a

line signals a brief pause by the storyteller, which usually corresponds in writing to a sentence break (period or comma), although not always. Breaks in sections within stories generally indicate a shift in topic, with a longer pause than is found between lines, although storytellers also use pauses for emphasis or dramatic effect, and these are often also indicated by section breaks. The Inupiaq word *tavra* often accompanies a shift in thought and commonly begins sections. When a page begins with a section break, the symbol ¶ appears in the left margin.

Readers must remember that this collection of stories is part of the oral tradition of the King Islanders. Eskimo stories are usually told out loud to an audience, and storytelling may take place in many situations. Whether a family is sitting at home in the evening or a party of hunters is waiting for game to appear, someone may decide to tell a story, either spontaneously or upon request. Most communities have recognized storytellers to whom people may go when they want to hear a story, either a familiar favorite or a new story. Storytelling not only entertains, but also explains basic values and customs of the society, as well as history, geography, and information about the physical environment and how to live in it. The stories in this collection contain information a person would need growing up on King Island, including lessons on how to survive in severe weather, how to deal with wild animals, and how to behave properly toward other people.

There are two types of stories represented in this book. The most general type is called *quliapyuk* in Inupiaq and includes oral history and personal reminiscence, usually relating something the storyteller or someone he knows has experienced. An ancient myth or legend is called *unipkaaq* and tells of events, often with supernatural aspects, which occurred long before anyone can remember. Two stories in this collection, "The Cormorant Hunters" and "The Two Shamans Who Collided in Mid-Air," are in the unipkaaq category.

## THE ALPHABET

The Inupiaq writing system used in this book was developed in 1947 for the North Slope Inupiaq dialect by Roy Ahmaogak of Barrow.

He was assisted by Eugene Nida, a linguist. The primary goal of their work was to make possible the translation of religious materials using an easily understood, phonemically-based system, one now used for writing Inupiaq throughout Alaska but different from the writing systems of Inuit in Canada and Greenland.

The letters used for King Island Inupiaq are the same as those of the regular Latin alphabet, with the exception of three consonants: *ŋ* is used for the velar nasal *ng* sound found in English *singer*; *ġ* is used for the voiced uvular fricative, which is like the *r* sound of German *rot* or French *rouge*; *ɬ* is a voiceless lateral sound which sounds like *l* with air blown out around the sides of the tongue.

Other consonant sounds, like *ġ* and *ɬ*, have no equivalent English sound. *q* is a voiceless uvular stop pronounced like a *k*, only farther back in the throat. *sr* stands for a single sound which is a voiceless retroflex *r*, similar to the *shr* in English *shrink*. *kh* is also a single sound, a voiceless velar fricative like the *ch* in German *ich*. *qh* is a voiceless uvular fricative pronounced farther back in throat than *kh*, something like the Scottish pronunciation of *ch* in *loch* or the sound in German *ach*.

Consonants written double are held longer than single consonants. Like the *mm* in Italian *mamma*, which sounds drawn out to English speakers, the *mm* in Inupiaq *amma* is a long consonant.

Inupiaq has three short vowel sounds, *a*, *i*, and *u*. *a* sounds like the vowel in English *what* or *cup*. *i* sounds like the vowel in English *peak*. *u* sounds like the vowel in English *boot*. When these vowels are written double, *aa*, *ii*, and *uu*, the sounds are held longer than those of the short vowels.

King Island Inupiaq also has a half-long *a*, written as *a.*, whose length is midway between that of short *a* and long *aa*. No vowel other than *a* can be half-long. There are also overlong vowels, written with three vowels together. Most common are *aaa* and *iii*, although clusters of different vowels, such as *iau*, may occur. Examples are found in the texts.

Any two short vowels can be paired to produce diphthongs. *ai* sounds like the *ay* in English *may*. *ia* sounds like the *ea* in the name Leah or in *fear*. *au* sounds like the *o* in *wrote*. *ua* sounds like the *oa* in Noah. *iu*

sounds like the *u* in music. *ui* sounds like the *ouie* vowels in Louie.

These comparisons with English are only approximations of the Inupiaq sounds and are meant as an aid to pronunciation.

THE GRAMMAR

Since this book cannot give a thorough introduction to Inupiaq grammar, I will restrict myself to a few rather oversimplified observations on this subject. The word and sentence structure of King Island Inupiaq is very much like that of other Eskimo languages, in which one long word may often be the equivalent of an entire English sentence. Eskimo words have a word stem or base, to which almost any number of suffixes or postbases can be added. These suffixes may serve as modifiers, like adjectives and adverbs in English. Verbs have inflectional endings which carry information about the subject and, often, object of the verb.

Below are examples of Inupiaq words and their English translations:

(1) **mulupłuniguuq** "He or she stayed a long time, it is told."

| **mulu-** | **-płuni-** | **-guuq** |
|---|---|---|
| "to stay long" | "he/she" | "it is told" |

(2) **niġinazuaqtuut** "We ate as best we could."

| **niġi-** | **-nazuaq-** | **-tuut** |
|---|---|---|
| "to eat" | "do one's best" | "we plural" |

(3) **qiniŋilaatiut** "He, she, or they did not see us."

| **qini(q)-** | **-ŋi(t)-** | **-laatiut** |
|---|---|---|
| "to see" | "not" | "he, she, it, they - us" |

Examples (1) and (2) are intransitive verbs with endings that reflect only the subject of the verb. Example (3) is a transitive verb whose ending reflects a third person subject (he, she, it or they) and also an object (us plural). In addition to plurals, which indicate three or more things, Inupiaq has duals, which end in *k* and indicate exactly two things: *aŋun*

'man' is *aŋutik* in the dual form and *aŋutit* in the plural. In example (2) if the verb ending *-tuut* were *-tuuk* instead, the verb would indicate "two of us." The verb mood in (1) is called subordinative, while (2) and (3) are in the indicative mood. In (3), consonants in parentheses are deleted when suffixes are added.

Inupiaq grammar is complex and very different from that of English and other European languages. The examples I have given illustrate some of these differences. Often, individual word stems and suffixes are equivalent to words in English. There is no distinction among "he," "she," and "it" as there is in English. Gender differences are expressed only by nouns like *aŋun* "man" or *aġnaq* "woman."

In the first example, notice the suffix *-guuq*, which means "it is said" or "it is told." Inupiaq storytellers use *-guuq* commonly to indicate that they are telling about what they have heard but not observed firsthand or to report what someone else said (indirect speech). You will see that *-guuq* occurs frequently in the Inupiaq texts, but we do not translate each occurrence.

For technical linguistic information on Inupiaq language and grammar, see the list of suggested readings at the end of the book.

# Ugiuvaŋmiut Piłqhuziat

## The Ways of the King Islanders

In this section four storytellers describe different aspects of life as they experienced it growing up on King Island. A concept which recurs throughout Eskimo stories is expressed here by Catherine Kasgnoc, who tells of a childhood experience that helped make her aware of the world around her. The verb *qaugri* expresses the Eskimo concept of an increase in consciousness and curiosity about the world which takes place in childhood and is a major landmark in a person's life. Storytellers often refer to "the time when I was first becoming aware."

# Ugiuvaŋmiut Piłqhuziat

*Pikkuŋana Quliapyuŋnikuit*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on February 1, 1983.*

1 Quliapyugliuqtuŋa Ugiuvaŋmiut piłqhuziatnik.
2 Ugiaġmi qayaqtuturut Ugiuvaŋmiut.
3 Tavra aglaan qanuġuuq suġġa.luigait, kaaratun qayyatik.

4 Uani uvaġnaami tiŋmiuranun, suuranun, uktaliġnun, aivaliġnun, qayaqtuaqtut.
5 Tavra ugiaksraaniq maliġuaqłuu unuŋa aktumik ugruŋnun qayaqtuliġa.tut.
6 Taimana ittuagurut Ugiuvaŋmiut,
7 tavra aglaan piłqhuziġiaat naguamik siguiniani Ugiuvaum.
8 Qanuġuuq imna niġiksrailat.
9 Suna'ua manna niġiksraq naluaġmiuni inŋaan.
10 Iŋminik niqsauranik, ugruŋnik, nunamik aġnait aġnayukłutik.
11 Taimana ittut.

12 Iknuwiilat.
13 Miziġaq manna ugruum, niqsam uqsrua iapłuu uqsruliuqłutik,
14 init magua uuna.tut.
15 Issriliuġnailat naniq atausiq kuguumazina.man.
16 Taavrumuŋa ipkua Ugiuvaŋmiut taimana itpazuktut.

# The Ways of the King Islanders

*Aloysius Pikonganna*

I shall tell about the King Islanders' ways of life.
In the fall, the King Islanders hunted a great deal from their kayaks.

This was because it was one of their major possessions; their kayaks were like cars for them.

In the summer they hunted in their kayaks for birds, walruses that would come up on the rocks, or whatever game there was.
Then, continuing into the fall, they would go on hunting large bearded seals from their kayaks.
This is the way the King Islanders were;
it was their custom, as long as solid ice had not yet formed around King Island.
They had no food at that time.
It was before they had found out about white man's food.
They got seals and bearded seals, and their women got food from the land.
That is how they were.

They had no stoves.
With oil from bearded seals, and seal blubber, which they cooked to make oil,
the houses stayed warm.
They did not get cold as long as just a single oil lamp was burning.
For that reason, the King Islanders were able to survive.

¶ 17 Tavra ugiuġnin aŋuniaġaluaqłutik,
18 niqsauranun, taguqanun,
19 uvaġnagraqmau ugruŋnialiaqtut;
20 niqsat magua sugiŋaiġaigait iġnimata.
21 Iġnimata magua sugiŋaiġaigait niqsat.
22 Qanuġuuq manna mitquat simmiaqtuq.
23 Taavrumuŋa niqsa.niaŋaiġa.tut iġnimata, qairaliuqmata.
24 Pizuktuat piyaluaġa.tut.
25 Uaŋa niqsa.niaqsuilaŋa taimana itmata,
26 mitquat manna naguaġiŋaiġaigia.

27 Niqsa.niaġaluaqłutik qairalit kiŋupmata,
28 aiġvit mayuiqmait, aivaniaqpaaqtut.

29 Ałłamik quliapyugrailaŋa,
30 qanuġuuq iskuuġuziġiiga aŋunazuaġniq.

31 Taavrumuŋa quliapyuuruŋa niqsanik, ugruŋnik, taguqanik,
32 qanusinigliġaa tiŋmiranik unniin.

33 Ipkua kaliikat magua nalugiut, sunik quliapyuġaqtuat.
34 Uaŋa irruziptiŋnik Ugiuvaŋmi quliapyuġaqtuŋa.

35 Naumi, uvaġnagraqmau, aivaniaŋaiqmata,
36 tiŋmirat iġnimata atpat,
37 agra.tuqsimaaġaigigut suli manniit.
38 Qanuġuuq imma ilaatni Maaya.lu qayyauk immalugit,
39 manniktuguk kiziuramnuk.
40 Puktavġaura.tuk qayyauk.
41 Taimana inŋilat tuiġat amiġlat Ugiuvaŋmi, nugatpiat.
42 Qapsiurani manniŋniaġuuruut suli.

¶ 17 After hunting all winter
18 for seals and polar bears,
19 when spring came, they would start to hunt bearded seals;
20 people left hair seals alone when they were bearing young.
21 When the seals were bearing young, people left them alone
22 because they were shedding their coats.
23 For that reason people would cease hunting them when they were giving birth and migrating back north.
24 Those that wanted to would hunt them anyway.
25 As for myself, I did not hunt seals when they were like that,
26 for I no longer liked their coats.

27 After the hunt for migrating seals, which had by then moved on,
28 walrus would be carried north on the ice, and people would begin hunting them in earnest.

29 I have nothing else to tell,
30 because the only schooling I received was in learning to hunt.

31 For that reason, I tell about hair seals, bearded seals, polar bears,
32 and whatever game there was, even birds.

33 We knew nothing about books or the stories they contained.
34 What I tell about are the conditions on King Island.

35 Then, when spring came and they stopped walrus hunting,
36 birds laid eggs—murres—
37 and we would bring back their eggs in great numbers, too.
38 One time Charles Mayac and I filled our kayaks;
39 we had collected that many eggs by ourselves.
40 Our kayaks were barely floating on the water.
41 There were not many people like that on King Island, among the young men.
42 There were few of us who would go to gather eggs.

¶ 43 Tavra pinaqsiman suli qanuġuuq izumaaluliq'amik
maguaqtaina.magu agiksrauratik magua qiziurat,
44 akłunaat ugruit agiksrauratik tauqsaniutigrauratik paniqmait.
45 Niġiksrauratik tamatkua aaqiġaaqłuit Qaitqumun, sana'uliġa.tut.

46 Qanuġuuq imma ugiumi atukagrauramiknik—
47 nuġġayuanik, amminik, niunik, sunik—
48 tauqsaniura.liuqtut naqmuŋainaaġlutik, qauŋainaaġlutik,
auŋa.lutik.
49 Qaqmuŋainaq Kotzebue-muinaq piruat—qauŋa.tuaksranik
piraġiait.
50 Tatqauŋaaqtut qauŋa.lutik umianik.
51 Pauŋa Nuuqamun tatpauŋa.tuaksrat, pauŋa.tuaksranik piraġiait.
52 Magua'aa maani auŋainaq Tassimuinaq piruat, auŋa.tuanik
piraġiait.

53 Marraa aġnayuksimara.tut, atukagrauramiknik.
54 Naumi. Umiaqtazina.niġmiŋni niġiksra.tik manna amuakłiŋman,
55 marraa nani tamaani sitkani naniliġaa inuqa.tuanik qini'amik
inuitmatalu,
56 iziġlauqsimaraigait.
57 Qanuġuuq samma niġaiyurut, niġaiyulata.tut.
58 Marraa qaġupłutik, iwaqłiura.lutik,
59 nalausiraqtut iġaluusuŋmata, iġałuaguzukmata, suupmata,
niġiksranayuurat.

60 Tavra una niġiksraurat ugua, paniqtut, iġaluit, iġałuat,

¶ 43 Then when the time came, they began to think of the hides that were drying, which they would use to sell—
44 the bearded seal ropes that they would sell and trade when dried.
45 After putting their food supplies away in the cold storage cave,[1] they began to think of crossing to the mainland.

46 Because whatever things they could make use of in wintertime—
47 reindeer fawn skins, hides, leg skins, whatever—
48 they would trade for those wherever they traveled, whether they went up the coast to the west or down the coast to the east.
49 Those who went up north, toward Kotzebue, were said to be northwestward travelers.[2]
50 They would travel northwest in skin boats.
51 Those who went north to East Cape in Siberia were said to be northward travelers.
52 And these who went east down the coast, toward St. Michael, were said to be eastward travelers.

53 Along the way they found helpful things, things they could use.
54 Also, as they traveled in their umiaks, when their food ran short,
55 then somewhere along the coast, when they saw places with people, or even if there was no one,
56 they would check around and search there.
57 Because they were short of food, they were running short of food.
58 Around there, digging and searching,
59 they would find what had been left there, whether it was fish or tomcod or whatever—any kind of food.

60 So they had some food: dried meat, fish, tomcod,

1. The cold storage cave, Qaitquq, is described in "Traditional Life on King Island," by Margaret Seeganna, pp. 26–29.
2. To travel to Kotzebue by sea, King Islanders would follow the coast of the Seward Peninsula northwest through Bering Strait.

61 naumilu, uqsramiutamik piqa.zimamata iġaluŋnik.
62 Tavraŋa nuŋułuu pinnau naipirutigrauramiknik.

63 Tavraŋa amusiraqtut inuinŋaan.

64 Kannaa, taavruma umiaglata taugaaqiġaq'ami puuqłuit
imaaġuminaiqłuit,
65 qiniġna.zipłuit tamauŋa iliraigait,
66 taapkunakŋa nallilugu taugaaqiuranik.
67 Taimana ipkua ittut...issimarut

68 Taapkua'aa qaik'amik, piqa.tuat, paġairialuaġa.tut.
69 Imma tuiġam pizima.luaġaigait—uvva taamna!
70 Suna kaliikat naluna.niġani.
71 Sumik puuqauŋna.tuq,
72 kaliigauġnituamik kavitagra.viniġmik imaġnitiksrawinamik, sumik
puuqauŋna.tuq.

73 Taamna nalautaigaat, marraa!
74 Izumaa suli nalaułuu.
75 Taugaaqiuranik uvva imaqazimaraqtuq, taima!
76 Quya aktuura.tuq—taima!—taavrumakŋa nalausiamik.
77 Qaunaiŋaiġaigaat imna piituaq. Quyasinaġa.tut.

78 Taimana ipkua siuliut unipkaaqa.tut.

or else dried fish in seal oil.
They didn't take all there was, but only enough to have a taste.

They would take some even if there was no one around.

Their captain, if he had tobacco, would wrap some up so that it would not get wet,
and he would place it where it could be seen,
paying for what was taken with some leaves of tobacco.
That's the way they were, those people in the old days.

When those other people, those whose place it was, came back, they would find that they were missing something.
Somebody had apparently taken it from them—but there's that package!
This was while paper was still unknown to them.
What it was wrapped in was not paper;
a piece of dried seal intestine was the wrapper it had.

They found that little package; there it was!
They found it to be just what they had thought.
It turned out to contain some tobacco, right there!
Their appreciation was great—there it was!—for what they found.
They no longer thought about what was missing and felt only thanks.

These are the kinds of stories our ancestors had.

*ABOVE: Simon Angusuc (Qigiqtaq) proudly displays four bullheads.*

*ABOVE: Ayaaq reaches for a murre egg high atop a rock outcropping.*

*LEFT: Aġnaayaq pulls a king crab out of her crabbing hole in the ice.*

# Aġnat Piłqhuziit Ilait

*Taaġluum Quliapyuŋnikuit*

*Recorded by Margaret Seeganna and Gertrude Analoak on May 11, 1983.*

1 Killaiqłutiglu unuŋa.zuutigraitnik umiaqtuutigraitnik uimik.
2 Aŋiġlautigaagat sawitpaat.

3 Pigitpaktaqtut aġnat.
4 Aŋutit tamatkua aŋuniaqtuat.

5 Maqmaktuqłuit niġit,
6 paniqtut iniuġa.lugit,
7 sawitpaaqtut.

8 Atagum imma maatnami taimana ilipmauŋ,
9 ugruŋnik sawinayaqtut.
10 Ugruŋnik sawinŋaiġumik, aivanik sawinayaqtut.

11 Saviġna.vaktut ipkua.

12 Naaga tavra siuliut saviġnaŋaaquraġiait,
13 qanuq taima ittuat.

14 Aŋusiura.luaġiga taipkua niaqsaaġruunamni pigituat,
15 igiaqsiruat, amiksriuqtuat.

16 Sawaaksraitaaq'amik nuna naupman, nunamun takpauŋa.

# Women's Tasks

*Magdaline Omiak*

The women sewed and made the things their husbands needed to go out hunting.
They worked on whatever game their husbands brought home.

The women worked very hard.
The men hunted.

Carrying meat in backpacks,
hanging up meat to dry,
the women worked very hard.

Back then, when it got to be about this time of year,
they would work on bearded seals.
If they finished working on bearded seals, they could work on walruses.

They were very strong back then.

They would have said that our ancestors were even stronger.
I wonder what they were really like.

I just caught a glimpse of them when I was a little girl, those who worked very hard,
those who split walrus hides to make skin covers for the boats.

When they were caught up on their work, when the land had new growth on it, they would climb up the island.

¶ 17 Nunaniaqsiura.zina.lutik, umiamiŋnun...

18 Suyaqtataqsimavita kiaq mauŋa,
19 nunaluataq uniłuu.

¶ 17 After picking greens for a little while, they would work on their skin boats again...

18 I wonder why we ever came here to Nome,
19 leaving behind a good land.

*ABOVE: Hedwig Aŋuyauna uses an ulu (a semi-circular woman's knife) to split a walrus hide. The hides are so heavy that usually only the outer half is used to make a boat cover.*

*RIGHT: From left, Barbara Kokuluk, Margaret Seeganna, Clara Pikonganna, Ursula Ellanna, and Margaret Niġiruq cut blubber from a walrus hide.*

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*LEFT: Sunagazuk, a healer and midwife, picks white anemone flowers that grow abundantly on King Island. Women picked them, leaves and all, and stored them in water, allowing them to ferment. Sunagazuk's pack bag is made from an old, bleached sealskin float. Notice the tattoo on her chin.*

*BELOW: Magdaline Omiak wears a reindeer hide parka with a wolf ruff.*

# Aanaga

*Aalium Quliapyuŋnikua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on May 6, 1983.*

Imma taimana ilipmau, uvaġnagraqmau,
niaqsaaġruałuuraunamni imma—*twelve* unniin ugiigaluaqnaŋa—
aanamni tauq agliruaŋa,
granmaa-mni Qalusami.
Aġuira.tuŋa.
Aġuiluaġiika avaaka.
Aŋayuġaatka nayuqnait,
uliġvialuik.

Tavra una aġnaq uvaġnagrami—kituuŋa.mi—
aviqsraigaaŋa Granmaaġa samma itmaŋaan.
Aŋiq'ama aituaġiaatŋa kiikagranik natiksranik.
Kannaaguuq uguak sawaqtagraak.
Aanaanun kiitizaqtalagik.

Aqparuqłuŋa quyasugluŋa, Granmaamuaqtuŋa.
Aguqtuaġiaik sawaqtagraaguuq.
Nalupmiiga uvva una qanuġuuq pirusiupmaŋaan sawaqtaq.

Tavra imna kiipmaik piłłamagik utiqtitaġiika.
Marraa utiqtinapkik suuramik samna Granmaaġa aituaġiaa taavruma kiitituam.

Tavra ittaaqłuŋa ałła imma taimana tani.

# My Grandmother

*Catherine Kasgnoc*

At a time when the season was becoming as it is now and spring had come,
I was just a little girl—not even twelve yet—
growing up with my grandmother,
with my grandmother Qalusaq.
I used to walk around the village.
I would go on errands for my grandparents.
Because I did not stay with my parents,
I got used to being with my grandparents.

Then in the springtime, one of the women—whoever it happened to be—
would ask me if my grandmother was at home.
When I said, "Yes," they'd give me mukluk soles to be crimped.
"These," they would say, "are for fancy mukluks."
They were to be crimped by my grandmother.

I would run happily to my grandmother's.
She'd take the skin that was to be made into fancy mukluk soles.
I didn't know at that time what fancy crimped soles were.

When she had finished crimping them, I would return them.
When I returned them, the one who had left the soles to be crimped would give some little thing to my grandmother.

Then, in a day or so, someone else would do the same thing.

20 Qiniġaigiga kiikaagit Ugiuvaŋmiutausuilat.

21 Tavra naluvariulatuŋa qauġrinikua malikłuu.
22 Suamikiaq una Granmaaġa taimana kiila.va Iŋalitun suna'ua?
23 Utiġniama tani aviqsruiga, aviġiiga,
24 "Suami tavra kizivin Ugiuvaŋmi sawaqtagranik kiira.taqpin?"

25 Qiniqpagluŋa uvvaa quŋuyuŋaaqpagluni, piaaŋa,
26 "Paniuraaŋ, nalurutin.
27 Tavra ilitaaġa Imaqłinin.[1]
28 Imaqłini agliruaguruŋa."
29 Aviġiiga uvvaa suami Imaqłini aglizaqmaŋaan.

30 Suqpailaruuq qaŋami suġa.luilat niġiksra.vailat, nugaġiit amiġla.vait.
31 Aŋaqa.tuġuuq takpiŋani Imaqłini,
32 Sulutkut ugua siuliatnik—
33 aŋutaatnik, qanuq.

34 Taavrumaguuq saniva.mata kayagaa aakaagak ilaŋaukłuit nugaġiigayaat.
35 Sagiqiliqpalaŋniblugit.
36 Nuġiłuu'aa famlii-tnin Imaqłiutalugu.

37 Takpiŋani'aa Imaqłini aŋaŋmini iliłuni,
38 taliġnamik killaiġnamik manaqtaniġmik takpiŋanitun.

1. The storyteller unintentionally said Iŋaliq (Little Diomede) for Imaqłiq (Big Diomede) several times. It has been corrected here.

I always noticed then that my grandmother did not crimp soles in the King Island way.

Then I began to wonder as my awareness of things increased.
Why was it that my grandmother crimped soles in that way—the way the Diomede people did, as it turned out?
When I went home after playing, I asked her,
"Why are you the only one on King Island who crimps fancy mukluk soles?"

Looking at me hard and then giving me a big smile, she said,
"Little daughter, you do not know!
That is what I learned from the Big Diomeders.
I grew up on Big Diomede."
I asked her then why she had grown up on Big Diomede.

My grandmother's family was needy at that time; they had few possessions and not much to eat, and there were many brothers and sisters.
She said she had an uncle up at Big Diomede Island,
the eldest of the Soolook family—
their father, perhaps.

When they went across to the mainland, that man, it is told, asked the mother of those children to choose one from among all the brothers and sisters.
He told them that they had come upon hard times.
Taking [my grandmother] from her family, then, he took her to Big Diomede.

Up there at her uncle's on Big Diomede, she learned how
to bench dance,[1] how to sew, and how to fish as they do there.

1. Women performed the bench dance, moving their arms as they sat on a bench, usually all facing left with their right legs forward. See the photo on p. 90.

Aɬɬagiaŋaura.tut pitkua Iŋalit Imaqɬit uaptiŋnin.
Tavraguuq utiqaa'ami Imaqɬituqpiuraq qaniġaluaqtuq.

Tavra una agliman aktuuqman inilaata.man,
nugatpiat magua qanituurauqmata ilaanun.

Aŋaagan pizimaaa uvva nalupmiait Ugiuvaŋmiut,
pizimaaa...
taavrumani uvaġnaġikpauŋ utiqtiliuġnivlugu aŋayuġaaginun.
Imma naalaŋnipɬutik aakaaga inuuŋaiġnivlugu.

Naa'aaġaluaġuuq tavra utiqtiliuġnimani.

Tavra'aa aiġlatuanun aŋaagan ikkutipɬuu.
Igipɬutik Imaqɬinin.
Nalauɬuit'aa nani taima tamaani Talam suanitaima umiat Ugiuvaŋmiut,
nalauɬuit Imaqɬit ugua umiat.

Tavraguuq tavrani alianiuġaluaqtuq
uniġlata'amigit aŋayuġaaġiliutigaani.

Tavra'aa umiamun nuuɬuni Ugiuvagzimaruq.
Uiniġunauguuq Imaqɬimik—
suami taima—
nunaqataanik uiniġupɬuu.

Tavra imna maliksimagait ugiaġmi;
Ugiuvaŋmun utiqsimaruq.
Ugiuvaami'aa muluqpaŋnani uinigluni.
Tavra.

Those Little and Big Diomede Islanders do things a little differently from us.
It is said that when she first came back, she talked like a Big Diomeder.

So, when she began to grow up, when she got bigger and started to mature,
young men began coming around to her.

Her uncle told her that she did not even know the King Islanders,
he told her...
that when summer came again he would return her to her parents.
They heard then that her mother was no longer living.

It was very painful, she said, when he told her he'd take her back.

So her uncle took her along with those who were crossing by boat to the mainland.
They boarded the boat together at Big Diomede.
Somewhere in the Teller area, they came across boats belonging to King Islanders;
these other boats went to meet the Big Diomeders.

At that time, she said she was very sad
to leave the ones who had become her parents.

Then, getting into another boat, she went to King Island.
Her uncle did not want her to marry a Big Diomeder—
I do not know why—
he wanted her to marry one of her own people.

Thus it was that she went back with them in the fall;
she returned to King Island.
When she got to King Island, it was not long before she married.
That's the end.

*RIGHT: Helen Aayiiq-Mizana, with her oldest son on her back, stands outside the entrance tunnel of the Qaluilat qagri. A whale jawbone supports the top of the entryway.*

*BELOW: From left to right, Cecilia Aulaġana (deceased), Lucy Thomas (Frank Ellanna's youngest sister, deceased), Helen Saŋmiġana (later Pushruk), Rose Alvanna (later Koezuna), and Rita Ailuk (deceased).*

*ABOVE: Annie Mayac crimps a mukluk sole with her teeth. The sole in the foreground is already crimped. Annie wears a string of old trade beads around her neck. The little boy is her son.*

*LEFT: Catherine Kasgnoc in Father Lafortune's house.*

# Inupiaqtat Ayuqatuutit Ilait

*Qigiqtam Quliapyuktaaga*

*Recorded by Margaret Seeganna and Gertrude Analoak on July 12, 1983.*

1 Aa' aŋayuuġaaka ayuqatuġuuvaktuk qauġriruŋa.
2 Ayuqatuġaigaakŋa tuiġamuuq azitnatun pikpaŋa,
3 tuiġamuuq azitnatun pikpatigut,
4 nugaġiini ayuqatuġaigaatiut,
5 kiuġma.taqnait.

6 Kiuġma.taġniguptaguuq naguuŋaaqłiuqtuq,
7 munaqsriptaguuq qanuġuuq akkutiłiuġaatiut qaguuŋaan.
8 Iluaġan suli taamna atuqta.zimaruq.
9 Qauġna.zigia tauq taamna kiuġma.taqsuiniguġa.

10 Tamatkunakŋa ilisimaqpaktuatun qaniġa.tuk,
11 naluviura.taaptiŋnik uagut.

12 Suli miksruuraunaptikni taguġaktuaqaaqtuq.
13 Quyasugvaga.tut tuiġat taguġaktuaqa.man.
14 Qanuġuuq iqsinaqtuagurut tauq.

# Inupiaq Rules for Living

*Mary Muktoyuk*

Back then, my parents would give us lessons on correct behavior,
back when I was first becoming aware.
They would teach me how to behave, saying that if a person did me wrong,
if a person ever did us wrong,
as brothers and sisters, they would teach us
never to answer them.

If we didn't answer them, they said, it would be better,
for the one who watches over us would some day get back at them for us.
It is true, indeed, that it works out that way.
I realize now the importance of my not answering them.

My parents spoke with great wisdom
of things that we did not know about.

Also, when we were small, from time to time someone would kill a polar bear.
The people were very happy when a hunter killed a polar bear,
for polar bears were considered extremely dangerous then.[1]

1. Before guns came into use, hunters impaled polar bears with spears at close range after having pursued the ferocious animals over the treacherous, shifting sea ice. A successful hunt was followed by the Polar Bear Dance, a great celebration in which the King Islanders gave thanks by distributing and sharing useful items within the community.

¶ 15 Tavra imna qapsinik siniksinaqłutik,
16 aġġiblutik quyasuutigraġiaat.
17 Taguġaq quyasuutigraġiaat.

18 Marraa suliaksra.vinauranik utuqauqtuat magua aitatuġaigait,
niġiksranik aitatuġaigait,
19 tavra taamna taguġaq quyagalugu, quyasuutiipłuu.
20 Tamatkua tauq quyalinasuaġaigait, utuqaurauqtuat.

21 Maatnami suli taimana inŋaiqtut,
22 nunaptiŋni inŋaiq'apta,
23 qanuġuuq ipkua ilisimaqpaktuat tuġuġa.tut nuŋułutik.

24 Aitazina.lutik niġiksrauranik suliaksrauranik.
25 Taimani aitazina.lutik aitatuġa.tut.
26 Naguatun'aa inuupłutik.
27 Maatnami naguatun inuuŋaiqtut,
28 taimana inŋaiq'amik.

29 Utuqat suli taimani taluuġavakiut.
30 Sumik qaġnutipmatigut,
31 naalaŋniuqpiura.lugit mistaigazuaqnata naalaaġiivut, qanuġuuq
taluġiivut,
32 uaptiŋnin qanuġuuq ilisimaŋaaqtuagurut,
33 aglizaġnaptikni.

34 Maatnami suli taimana piŋaiqpaliarut, piŋaiqtut.
35 Ilisimana.tuq piŋaiqtut taimana.

36 Suli magua maatnami imatnaa ilirut.
37 Ilagiikpiuraŋaġmik,
38 ilagiitun inŋaiqtut.

¶ Then after they had slept a certain number of nights,
they would give thanks for it by dancing.
They would give thanks for the polar bear.

Then they would give some pieces of skin for sewing to those who were growing old, and they gave them food, too,
because they were thankful for that polar bear and were celebrating it.
They tried to make those who were growing old happy, too.

These days, people are no longer like that,
because we are no longer in our land,
and because those wise people of long ago have died, all of them.

They would give freely of food or skins for sewing.
In those days, they gave and gave freely.
They lived a good life then.
These days, they no longer live in a good way,
for they are no longer as they used to be.

The elders, in those days, we held in great respect.
Whatever they told us,
we would listen very carefully, trying not to make mistakes when we listened, because we respected them so highly,
because they knew much more than we did
while we were still growing up.

In these times, though, people seem to have stopped doing things in the old way.
It is known that they no longer do things as they used to.

And these days all of them have become that way.
Even if they are close friends or relatives,
they are no longer like members of a family.

¶ 39 Taimani qauġrirugut,
40 ilagiikpiuraninŋa.mik ilagiikpiura.tuatun itta.tut.

41 Maatnami imma pitaiqtuq.
42 Taimana ittuanik qiniġnaiqtuq.

43 Nunaqatigiit ugua nuŋułutik ilagiikpiura.tuatun taimani issimara.tut.

44 Taimana issuminaiqpaliarut kiŋuagun.
45 Qanukiaq nunamiŋnun kizian utiġumik,
46 utaalaliġumik qaŋamitun.

¶ 39 In the past we were aware
40 that even people who were not closely related seemed like close relatives.

41 Now, what was is no more.
42 You no longer see people like those who lived then.

43 These people of one village all lived as close relatives; that's how they used to be.

44 They probably can never be the same again.
45 If somehow they could return to a village of their own, I wonder
46 if they might go back to the way they lived long ago.

*MARGARET NIĠIRUQ (Suksraq). Margaret, Magdaline Omiak's mother, was one of the women elders who gave advice in their own special way.*

*LEO KUNNUK, JR. Little Leo performs during a Polar Bear Dance, one of the King Islanders' most important ceremonies. Not a bit shy, Leo was considered a natural-born dancer.*



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# Qagri

## The Community House

The oldest man in the community, Frank Ellanna is the primary source of knowledge about traditional King Island culture. People frequently ask him about history of the area and traditional life. Here he tells of King Island history and culture through personal reminiscences and stories he learned from his elders. The common theme is the qagrit, the community houses which were the centers of village life, where members gathered for ceremonies, feasts, dances, and games. Men carved ivory, maintained their hunting outfits, and worked on their kayaks in the qagri. In this century the three King Island qagrit were Aguliit, Qaluilat, and Nutaat.

Frank tells of the joking among "teasing cousins"—the children of a brother and a sister—whose relationship was traditionally characterized by humor.

These stories were collected by Gertrude Analoak. She and Frank Ellanna sometimes address each other during the course of a story to clarify a point, identify a person, or comment on the narrative.

# Sauya.tuġvik

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

Taimani imma ugiaġmi Ugiuvaŋmiut—
tamarumani taqqimi aipaanizaq—
sauya.vaksimara.tut.
Sauya.tuġviŋmik taqqiq tamana taiyalugu, taiyuaat.
Sauya.vaksimara.tut.
Ilisugzaqpagzimaraqtut qagrim inuit,
ilisugzaqpaglutik.

Aŋun, aġnaq, nuliaġiik atuutiġaqłutik, atuusalutik,
atuutiiviaġniŋaita,
ałłat tuiġat atuutiiŋaita,
atuusalutik nuliaġiik awiłutik.
Qagrim inugiaktiglaaganun piruat;
naałutik inugiaktiglaaganun,
nuliaġiik awiłutik atuutiġaqłutik.

Aġnam, taamna atuutni,
atuun atuqtaani,
tainatuqtilugu nunivaanik,
uŋuġranik, nunam nauruaginik.
Illuni ałłani samma ittuaq,
qagrini ałłani ittuaq,
illuni maqmaktiksraaluu,
igayatiksraaluu tainatiłuu.

# The Time of Drumming

*Frank Ellanna*

A long time ago, in late fall, the King Islanders—
during this month [December], long ago—
used to do a lot of drumming.
They named this month "the time of drumming."
They used to do a lot of drumming.
The members of the qagri practiced a lot,
practiced very hard.

A man and a woman, a couple, had songs, got songs;
even if they were not really their own songs,
even if they were other people's songs,
a couple got songs separately.
The qagri members all did it, however many there were;
all had their songs, no matter how many there were;
a husband and wife each had separate songs.

A woman, that song of hers,
the song she used for dancing,
she put words to it about picking greens and berries,
about green plants, about things that grow in the earth.
She has her teasing cousin from another qagri in mind,
her teasing cousin who is in another qagri;
asking her teasing cousin to pack on his back the greens she has picked,
asking him to be her helper, she puts words about him in her song.

¶ 23 Aŋutim illuni tainialuu,
24 atuutigun taavrumuuna atuqtaamiun, atuutmiun.
25 Qayaqtatuani igayatiksraaluu;
26 aivaniaġumi igayatiksraaluu tainialuu—
27 aŋuniakamik taivrumakŋa.

28 Ilisugzaqpaglutik'aa.

29 Sayuutiġaqłutik nuliaġiik atausiina.mik.
30 Ałłak nuliaġiik sayuutiġaġa.lutik,
31 naguaġigaaminik taavrumakŋa atuutmik.
32 Sayuqtuaqtut taliġaluaqnatik.

33 Kannaa qitqani, qagrim natquatqani,
34 nanniutaq, nanipiaqpak *Eskimo*-qtaq,
35 qaumataat...
36 alianaiktuanik naniqtainiani; alianaikpaaqtuq.

37 Iġaqłiauraak—iġaqłiauraak ilisimaviik? Iġaqłiauraak aiqatik.
[Appaaya: Ya'.]
38 niqsaak mitquituak—
39 nanniutam saniani.
40 Igluani tiŋayut,
41 qunŋim ugua tiŋayuit,
42 tiŋayunik taiyuait tagisa.vait ugua manuani ittuat.
43 Tiimiaksrait.
44 Iġaqłiauraak'aa aŋutim atipłuik sayuġa.tuq.
45 Aġnam taapkua tiŋayut tiupłuit sayuġa.tuq.

¶ 23 A man's teasing cousin, too, he names in his song,
24 with that song which he sings and dances to, his own song.
25 While the men are out hunting in their kayaks, he wants her for his helper;
26 when he is hunting walrus, he wants her for his helper—in the words of his song—
27 to help with whatever he has hunted.

28 They practiced very hard.

29 A husband and wife would share a motion-dance song together.
30 Another couple would have a dance song,
31 a song they both liked.
32 They all did mixed dances,[1] before the bench dance.

33 Down below, in the middle of the qagri floor,
34 was a big seal-oil lamp, a real Eskimo-style lamp,
35 their source of light...
36 before they had kerosene lanterns; it used to be very bright.

37 A pair of waterproof sealskin mitts—do you know about waterproof sealskin mitts? [Gertrude Analoak: "Yes."]
38 Sealskin with the hair removed;
39 they were beside the lamp.
40 On the other side was a dance fan
41 made of the long chin whiskers of the reindeer—
42 *tiŋayut* is what they call the hair under the reindeer's chin.
43 The women held the fans in their hands.
44 As for the waterproof mitts, a man put them on when he was going to dance.
45 A woman picked up the dance fans when she was going to dance.

1. Dances done with anyone, not necessarily with teasing cousins.

¶ 46 Nuŋŋimata, taliġa.tut.

47 Inugiakmata qagrim inuit,
48 unnugzaira.tut unnuira.tut, aġġiblutik.

49 Iviqiikpiura.lugit suli atuutit,
50 siuġaanin iglalugit atuutit atuġaigait,
51 nuŋŋitikłaaganun.

52 Ataasiq inuituaq,
53 inaaqtuutmik taiyataagat atuun.
54 Naguaġigaaqtik inaaqtuun,
55 kiŋuliupłuu atuqmaruŋ.
56 Sukkazilainaaqtut.
57 Sukkaziqpaaqtut.
58 Aptaliqpaglutik taliqtuat, ilait aqtuyaguraqtut taliġnamik.
59 Saviġiaguraqtut.
60 Inaaqtuunuuq.
61 Saviġiaguraqtut ilait aġnat izauġnamik,
62 maliġuutnamik.

63 Ilitnamik tavra niptauliamik,
64 ublaaqpaŋmi taaġniani mauniguksramik siuatni,
65 ialaira.tut—ialaira.tuanik taiyuait.

66 Qagrim qaani iknaura.lutik kuguura.lutik miksruuramik.
67 Atuina.vaga.tut imma naanaan atukagraminik.
68 Naalayuna.vaga.tut ipkua nayuġnituni.

¶ 46 When those doing standing dances were through, the women would do the bench dance.

47 When there were many people in the qagri,
48 they would spend the evening, the whole evening, dancing.

49 Singing all the songs in order,
50 from the first one on, they sang the songs
51 until there were none left.

52 One which belonged to no one,
53 they named that song as the ending.
54 An ending song which everyone liked,
55 they sang as the last one.
56 The drummers and singers would get faster and faster.
57 They would go very fast indeed.
58 The bench dancers would try hard to keep up, and some would have to give up their bench dancing.
59 It became too much for them,
60 that last song, as it is said.
61 Some women could not keep up with the arm motions,
62 when they tried to follow the others.

63 When they had learned the songs and were ready to come out into the open,
64 in the early morning while it was still dark, before it was time for them to go out hunting,
65 they would make a small fire—they were called *ialaira.tuanik* "those who make a small fire."

66 On top of the qagri they would kindle a little fire.
67 They would sing very loudly the songs they were to sing later on.
68 They sounded very good, long ago, to one who was listening from outside their group.

69 Atuina.vaga.tut.
70 Taima piłłiamik,
71 aulaasuktuat aulaanaqman aulara.tut.

72 Qaitqumin aiyuira.tut:
73 kauŋnik, sunigliġaa, quaqłaŋnik, niġiksranik.
74 Aġnat tamatkua qaqpataq, aluk, sawitaigaat, tunnuq.
75 Manŋugziuraġaqłuit taganani qagrimi qapsirat, aŋutit agvuaġiait,
76 niġisinaġnazipłuit,
77 saniqłuit,
78 puuqłuit'aa puggutanik.

79 Naanaan unnuŋman,
80 sitaumaraqtut samma nunam, Ugiuvaum, inuit.
81 Aŋnaniaqavaga.tut,
82 qagri immalugu.

83 Niġiksraq auqutiksraigaat,
84 taamna aituġaaqłuu illutik.
85 Niġiksraq auqutiksraigaat kitunuliqaa,
86 qaqpataq, aluk, tunnuq, auqutiksraigaat.

87 Aliġnik uayaaqsruaqtut suli aġnat,
88 sayuġataq'amik uguak nuliaġiik piksraġaqtuat.
89 Aliġmik aŋitalugu aituaġiaa nulii.
90 Aitamani, uksrumakŋaaqłuni,

They sang very loudly.
Then, when they had finished,
those who wanted to go hunting—if it was right for hunting—
would go out hunting.

From Qaitquq, the cold storage cave, they distributed things:
walrus skin—whatever there was—frozen walrus meat, all kinds of food.
Those women would mix sour greens, and would mix berries with seal oil and snow or work on reindeer fat.
Having partially thawed pieces of fermented walrus skin down in the qagri, the men would cut them into pieces,
preparing them for eating,
cleaning them off,
and putting them in a big, wooden serving dish.

Later on, in the evening,
the people of King Island village would stop whatever they were doing.
Many people would go to the dances,
filling the qagri.

They would distribute food,
giving it first to their teasing cousins.
Then they distributed food to any others;
mixed sour greens, Eskimo ice cream with berries, and reindeer fat were all distributed.

The men would throw walrus rawhide thongs, and so would the women,
when the couples were ready to dance, after having chosen songs.
Uncoiling a walrus rawhide thong, a husband would give it to his wife.
When he gave it to her, she would look around in all directions,

91 nauliġaa tatqauŋa tuiġanun iitaigaa, aliq aulanagu.
92 Nugatpiat, nugatpiaġaat, aqsautigraġiaat kipłuaġinaqłuu;
93 piksramiknik kipsriraġa.lutik,
94 kipłuaġiaat imna aliq,
95 piksraniaqłutik iŋmiŋnun.

96 Piłłiamik tavra,
97 auġliġiqsraiŋaiq'amik taimana uayaaqsruġaaqłutik,
98 sayuqpaaqtut.

99 Piłłamaknik ałłak agiaġuruk,
100 ałłak agiaġuraġa.lutik.
101 Sayuŋaiq'amik, sayuqtuŋaiq'amik,
102 aġnat uzaara.tut.
103 Taliqpaaqtut.

104 Taima piłłamata,
105 ilaatni sayuġaina.lutik, taliġaina.lutik itta.tut.
106 Piłłiataamik,
107 kiŋulazausiataamik,
108 Nutaaġmiut agunami piraqtut apquziqpaglugu.
109 Siuqiraqtut silami.
110 Siuqa.vaga.tut aġnalu aŋutilu avigiikłutik.
111 Sayuqpaaqtut,
112 kiŋulamik aġġiliuq'amik unnugzaġnin.

113 Tani niġiksriġira.tut.

and somewhere over among the people, she would throw the entire coil.
The young men, the teenage boys, would fight over it and pull at it, cutting off the lengths they wanted;
cutting what they could for themselves,
they would cut lengths from that thong,
getting some for their own use.

When they had finished the distribution,
and things had been tossed out to all the people in that way,
they would dance hard.

When one couple was through, another would take over;
another pair would take their turn.
When a couple had finished doing the standing dances, had completed their couple dancing,
the women would get up on the benches.
They would do bench dances with great intensity.

Then, when they were through,
sometimes they would alternate standing dances with bench dances.[2]
When they were nearing the end,
and they were about to do the last dance,
members of the Nutaat qagri would go to the ravine between the two sides of the village and dig a flat place in the snow.
They would do the opening part of the Wolf Dance out of doors.
They danced the opening of the Wolf Dance, men and women mixing together.
They danced very hard,
when they danced for the last time that evening.

Then they would start to prepare food again.

2. This part was like a contest between two groups doing different dances.

114 Auqsra.tut.
115 Qizik agvuaġiaat.
116 Niġiksraq qaitaigaat.

117 Taimanamik ipkua siuliut
118 nalaituamik illaminun igayuutiġaqtut aġġigun.
119 Aġġi una taimuŋainaq atuqsuunau, piqqautiigaat.
120 Suġġaaluuramik suuramik piqqautiigaat nalaituamik illamiknin.

121 Taiyataqłutik ałłagun aġġigun qanusitikuliqaa,
122 piqqautiigaat patkinaġigaaminik.

123 Unnuŋman taimanalu aġġavaga.tut, sayuqtavaga.tut.
124 Taimani aŋituanik piraġiait, taimanaruat.
125 Aŋ́ituruuq!
126 Atali suna samna qiliqsimaaqtuaq aŋitman.
127 Aŋituruuq!
128 Taliqtuat taimanisaq, aŋuŋilatka.
129 Killamuinaq saałutik,
130 uuŋainaq saałutik uvvaa taliġa.tut.
131 Killamuinaq saałutik aġuptazimaraqtut saumiktik sallialuu,
aŋituaksrat,
132 kassazausatuaksrat.
133 Aŋutit saumiraaqłutik kazakłutik,
134 kiŋulamik tavra pik'amik.

135 Tavra'aa piłłaman,
136 aŋayuuġumik simmalugu,

They passed it around.
They would cut up animal hides.
They gave out food.

In that way our ancestors before us
had a way of helping their teasing cousins without payment, through dancing.
This dancing was not done without a reason; it was their way of sharing.
It was their way of sharing without payment some small but useful thing—whatever it was—with their teasing cousins.

Requesting something through another dance—anything at all, even something hard to get—
this was their way of obtaining something they needed but had no other way of getting.

When evening came, they held big dances, big couple dances.
Back then, it was said that they were "coming loose," those who did that.
"They are coming loose!" it was said of them,
just as when something with a knot in it comes untied.
"They are coming loose!"
The bench dancers of long ago—I never caught a glimpse of them.
They faced the opposite way,
since they usually do the bench dance facing left.
They took their positions, seated facing opposite the usual way, with their left arms forward, those who were "coming loose,"
those who were doing the final dance.
The men would beat their drums left-handed
when they were doing it for the last time.

Then, when that part was over,
they changed to the competition dance,

137 aġġi taamna sauyaq.

138 Ubluq nuŋułuu,
139 unnugzaq nuŋułuu,
140 nutaanik atuutinik tuwaaq atuusilaqtuaq ilisa.tuq.
141 Ilitnamiruŋ akuniniuraq, sayuusiit uvvaa inilaŋmata,
142 maliga.tut.
143 Maliktuanik piraġiait.
144 Imma ałłamun qagrimun sayuġiaqtuaqtut.

145 Qiniqamiġna.tuanik pik'amik,
146 ilita.nainazuaqtuanik pik'amik,
147 uqquziġa.tut;
148 siuliik itiq'amik, uqquziġa.tuk.
149 Samma itaaruat qiniġnaiqłuit.
150 Samma qulaanun taunuŋa, qulaa tauna avraiqpiura.lugu,
151 uzaara.tut taunuŋa,
152 aŋayuuġuruat.

153 Taunuŋa samma piłqhinauq'amik, iaqtuliġa.tut.
154 Iaqtuliġa.tut nipłialiaqtut iaqtalutik.
155 Samma nauŋ iaqtavagaigait uituat?
156 Taimana qaġluaqtut, hiiqtuaqtut: "Hiii!"
157 Iaqtuliqpaaqtut sapkua.

158 Inilaŋmaknik, piłqhinauqmaŋnik,
159 uqqutaq piiġaigaat nivimigun.
160 Kannaa sayuqtuaksraak,
161 ilita.nainazuaqtuak tuiġak.
162 Ilita.nainazuaqtuanik ilaqaaqtut.

that dance with singing and drumming.

Every day,
all evening long,
a person who made songs would teach new songs to others.
When they had learned them in just a short time, and their dance motions were fully formed,
they would "follow."
"Followers" they were called.
At that time they would go to another qagri to perform the dances.

When they did something that was being seen for the first time,
when they did a masquerade dance,
they put up a screen;
the first two who entered would put up a screen.
That way the ones who were coming in would not be seen.
Going to the bench along the wall, they cleared off the bench
and sat upon it over there,
the ones doing the competition dance.

When they were ready, the ones down behind the screen would exclaim and call out.
They would exclaim and make sounds.
Remember how they would call out when someone was being carried out on the ice?
They would sound a call like that, making a noise that sounded like "hiii."
They called out like that, those behind the screen.

When they had taken their places and were ready,
they removed the screen while their voices sounded the call.
Down in front were two people who were about to dance,
two people disguised to keep from being recognized.
They had among them people in disguise.

163 Atnuġaaqtalutik sunigliġaa,
164 atnuġaaqtalutik piluataugnituaniglu ilait, atnuġaaqtalutik,
suŋuaɬuuratuatliġaa.
165 Sayuġa.tuk.
166 Atuutavagaigaik.

167 Piłłiamik niptatiġa.tuk.
168 Taamna aŋutausimik taiyataagat sayuun.
169 Atnuġaaġigvaktut.
170 Aŋutit, nugatpiat aġna.tanik atnuġaaqtalutik.
171 Kiinauqɬutik taimana kiinatik qiniġnaiqɬuit,
172 aġna.tanik atnuġaaqɬutik.

173 Aġnaq aŋutna.tanik atnuġaaqɬuni,
174 ipnailanait.
175 Atigaa aŋutna.taq.
176 Aŋutitun ilipɬuni,
177 sayuapaaqtuq aŋutitun.
178 Taapkuak aŋutik aġnatuġazuaq sayuġa.tuk.

179 Taima kiŋulamik pizaq'amik,
180 pigiaġa.tuq imma aġnaq,
181 ilitaitqunani.

182 Taapkuak aŋutik matta.ruġa.tuk ilita.naqsiblutik.
183 Taimana aŋutausimik taiyataagat.
184 Ilitaitquzuilaq aġnaq.
185 Ilitaruġaigait piginiguatiun,
186 magua ilisimaruat naipatuqta.tuat.
187 Aŋutitun sayuapaaqtuq aġnaq.
188 Aŋutit taapkua aġnatuġazuaq.

189 Qanuġuuq suŋuaɬuura.tuanigliqaa,
190 aŋayulaqtut sayuġa.tut,

Dressed in clothing of all sorts,
dressed in clothing that was shabby, some of them, they pretended to be whatever they wanted.
The pair danced.
The others sang very loudly for them.

When they finished, the two would appear out of costume.
They call that dance "impersonating a man."
The clothes they wore were very fancy.
Adult men and young men would wear women's clothing.
Wearing masks to hide their faces,
they donned women's clothing.

A woman wore men's clothing,
men's dancing mukluks, black and white, trimmed with wolverine fur.
Her parka was in the man's style.
Acting like a man,
she would dance very hard just like a man.
The two young men tried to dance like women.

Then when they had finished the last dance,
that woman would dash out of the room,
not wanting to be recognized.

The two men removed their clothing so they could be recognized.
They called it "impersonating a man."
The woman did not want to be recognized.
But those who did this could be recognized from their motions
by those who knew and observed closely.
A woman would dance very hard like a man.
The men would try to imitate women.

Because they were pretending to be and do all sorts of things,
they competed as they danced,

191 umiaŋuanik suruałuuranigliġaa.
192 Taimna avaksi Qawaġliaq qułłatanik atuusizuuruq.
193 Qułłataniguuq.

194 Qułliuŋuaqtuat magua,
195 quzuŋazuit atiksruzuit ulitalugit,
196 uġuqsavakłutik, tapsiblutik sawiit.
197 Qułliruuq magua sayuġa.tut.

198 Atuusizuuruq taimanasinik akkaluuraġa Qawaġliaq.
199 Puuyuuġaitka aglaan atausiq.
200 Ilaŋinauraa suli uvvaa ilisimagaluaġia.
201 Qułłataġuuq taamna.
202 Qułłatanik atuusizuuruq.
203 Suŋuaqtuanigliqaa piraqtut.
204 Taimana aġġi inautiisinaqnau,
205 piqqautiigaat ipkua Ugiuvaŋmiut.

206 Maani unniin nunami,
207 nunat ałłat kigvaliqłutik,
208 aġuiluktilalutik, kiliksiblutik.
209 Kigvamik taiyuaat kiliksiruaq.
210 Yuġaqłutik maani pizuurut.
211 Yuġaqłutik pizuusimarut apkua,
212 Kiŋikmiulu unniin apkua, Unalit apkua,
213 Uŋalaaliġmiut, Taziġmiut, Atqa.wiŋmiut.
214 Tauq, ilamiŋnin piqqa.zimarut taimana taiyataqłutik sunigliġaa.

pretending to be in a boat or acting however they wished.
Your grandfather Qawaġliaq long ago would make Siberian-style songs.
They were said to be Siberian-style.

People who were playing at being Siberians
turned their big fur parkas inside out
and dressed in warm fur clothing and wore knives thrust in their belts.
The so-called Siberians would dance.

He used to make songs like that, my dear uncle Qawaġliaq.
I have forgotten them, all but one.
Only part of it I remember.
It was said to be Siberian-style, that one.
He used to make Siberian-style songs.
They pretended to be whatever they could think of.
That dancing was not merely a form of entertainment,
it was the way they had of getting things and sharing in the old days, the King Islanders.

Even here on the mainland,
different villages would send messengers to each other;
they would be sent to travel around and invite other villages.
The one who went to invite others they called a messenger.
They held large invitational dances here.
Other people used to hold large invitational dances,
even those from Cape Prince of Wales, and those Unaliq people,
the people of Unalakleet, St. Michael, and Stebbins.
They also got from their relatives whatever it was they named in their dance.

*RIGHT: Women perform a bench dance in the Nutaat qagri while the men drum.*

*BELOW: Maria Saŋmiġana (Auyaġagruk) sews a fancy parka of yearling reindeer hide. At left is a seal oil lamp over which she is frying bread. These lamps gave off dry heat which warmed the whole house.*

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*ABOVE: In the qagri, just before a polar bear dance, Frank Ellanna serves Eskimo ice cream (black berries mixed into reindeer fat and seal oil).*

# Ugiuvaŋmiut Aġġinikuat

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on October 12, 1983.*

Marraa taimani,
aipaluaġiiktut ilait tuiġat.
Simmiusrataqtut.
Nuliurani sinigvigraġiaa aŋutim,
uiya taamna ałłamun nuliuraminun sinigiaqtuaqtuq.
Taimana itkaluaqtut aipaani.
Aipaluaġiinik'aa taiyalugit.

Taavruma aŋutim nuliurani aliġnik—
yuġaisamata samma piraqtut—
uiva.załaaraigaa sayuqtuaq.
Kanŋunaqpaliagaluaqtuq, kanŋuzuŋaiġa.tut.

Taima piłłiamik,
atali nuŋŋaluuġa.tuq aġġi taamna taliq, sauyaq.
Simmiaġiaat aŋayuuġumik.
Qagrit igluliġiikłutik,
piilitausra.tut atali.

# Dances of the King Islanders

*Frank Ellanna*

That's how it used to be long ago;
some people were exchange mates to one another.
They used to change partners.
A man would sleep with his exchange wife,
and her husband would go sleep with his exchange wife.
That is how the people were long ago.
"Exchange mates" is what they called them.[1]

A certain man, with a coil of ugruk rawhide rope—
they did this only while they were doing the *yuġaisuq* dance—
would try to throw the rope around the neck of his exchange wife while she was doing a partner dance.
It was probably embarrassing at first, but they overcame their embarrassment.

Then, when they were through,
it was as if that part of the celebration were completed by a bench dance accompanied by a drum song.
They would change then to a competition dance.
Qagrit would take sides against each other
as if to challenge one another.

1. Exchange mates were an important part of traditional King Island life. Such relationships expanded a family to include members of other families and often people in other villages, creating solid ties with people who might offer help, food, or shelter when needed. Exchange mates were considered relatives.

¶ 17 Unnugzaq nuŋułuu,
18 imatnaa sawaaksraitnamik.
19 Nutaanik atuusiblutik,
20 imma atuusizimaraqtut atuusilaqtuat nani aula.luŋaġmi.
21 Unnuŋman ilisa.lugu,
22 sayuusiliqłuu,
23 suŋuałuuraupłutigliġaa,
24 atnuġaiqtalutik suŋuagublutigliqaa,
25 maliga.tut. Maliktuanik taiyataġait.
26 Qagrimun ałłamun sayuġiaqtatuat.
27 Aŋugiga.

28 Suŋuagublutigliqaa sayuġa.tut.
29 Qanusinigliġaa sayuusinik,
30 atuutit assiraġazuaqłuit.

31 Taimna avaksi Qawaġliaq [Iilan Appaaya qaġnutigaa]
32 qułłatanik atuusizuuruq.
33 Qułłataniguuq.
34 Ilait puuyuitka.
35 Pinnaġutyugvaktuanik atuutiġaqtuq,
36 qułłataniguuq atuutiġaqtuq.
37 Tavra'aa qułłiusuktuat,
38 aŋayuzuktuat;
39 aŋayuruanik piraġiait sayuqtuat.
40 Uġuqsa.vakłutik,
41 quzuŋazuŋnik atiksruzuŋnik uliłuit naagalu
42 mitquat qaaġa.lugu.
43 Tapsiblutik,
44 aguaġmiułuuraliqłutik sawiŋmiŋnik.

45 Quiktiziqpaglutik.

¶ 17 Throughout an entire evening,
18 when they did not have much work to do,
19 they would make new songs.
20 They were known to make songs wherever they were at the time;
they made songs anywhere they were, even out hunting.
21 When evening came, they would teach that song
22 and devise motions to fit it;
23 pretending to be whatever they imagined,
24 dressing up in all sorts of different ways,
25 they would follow others to a different qagri. "Followers" they
were called.
26 They would go to dance at another qagri.
27 I just caught a glimpse of them.

28 They pretended to be anything they wanted as they danced.
29 They would use different types of dance motions
30 and fit them to the songs.

31 Your grandfather Qawaġliaq [to Gertrude Analoak]
32 would make Siberian songs.
33 They were said to be Siberian-style.
34 Some of them I have forgotten.
35 He had some very unusual-sounding songs;
36 he had Siberian-style songs.
37 Then came those who wanted to pretend to be Siberians,
38 the ones who wanted to do the competition dance;
39 they were called "competition dancers."
40 They wore heavy, warm clothing,
41 and turned their big fur parkas inside out
42 so that the hair was on the outside.
43 They wore belts
44 and small knives below their waistline.

45 They made themselves look very fat.

Qułliruuq magua.
Qułliura.tut.
Qanuġuuġliġaa iliuqłutik sayuġa.tut.

Aipaanizaq naluaġmiut pilaliġaaqmata,
naluaġmiuruuq ugua aŋayuruat.
Aŋaaguuq atqa Payana naluaġmiuguruq.
Quppiġaasugvaa.
Naluaġmiuraaqsuituat.

Uvvaaguuq ilaata piraġiaa, piaa,
"Payaan! Naluaġmiuraaġa.lutiin!"
Naluaġmiuraaqtuġuuq uvvaa.
"Uunaq!"
Naluaġmiuguuq naluaġmiuraaqtuq: "Uunaq!"
Qanuġuuq suŋuałuuraupłutigliġaa aŋayulaġa.tut.

Aula.tiqaaġa.tut yuġaisumik ugiaġmi.
Yuġaisumik taiyuaat,
kigvaliqłutik tuiġamik amma qagrinun,
taiyalutik illumiknin
sumik samna pizuŋniblutik,
taiyalutik.

Yuġaisutuanik pilaġait tamatkua aula.tiutit.
Taiyalutik sumik pizukłutik,
illamiknin patkinaġigaaminik
pizuktaaminik.
Tavra uuma piqqaami,
illami imma taiyuaga satqumiqłuu paqnaglugu,
unnuŋman taimana'aa

They were said to be Siberians.
They were just like Siberians.
They danced in whatever way they wanted.

A long time ago, when white men first started to come around,
they would pretend to be white men, these competition dancers.
One time, my uncle's namesake, Payana, was being a white man.
He wore a great big overcoat.
They couldn't speak a word of English then.

It happened that someone kept saying to him,
"Payana! Say something in English once in a while!"
After that, he said something in English.
"It's hot!"
That one who was supposed to be a white man spoke in English:
*"Uunaq!"* ["It's hot!"].[2]
They used to do the competition dance so that they could pretend
to be whatever they wanted.

They used to start with the yuġaisuq dance in the fall.
They called it "yuġaisuq,"
sending a man as a messenger to another qagri
and making requests of their teasing cousins;
whatever they had in mind that they wanted,
they named it.

"Yuġaisuq dancers" they called those who started out.
They named what they wanted
from their teasing cousins, something they needed
and wanted.
Then if a person had what was asked for,
he set aside what his teasing cousin had named and had it ready,
so that in the evening,

2. He pretended to speak in English.

73 tiimiaġa.lugit.
74 Aġvalutik Nutaanun pizukmata,
75 Qaluilanun suli pizukmata'aa atqa.lutik,
76 Agulanun unniin.
77 Paqnagzimaraqtut tamatkua qagrim inuit,
78 sunigliġaa uimiutigraminik
79 nuliuraġaqtuat nuliuramiknun.
80 Aliġnik,
81 sunigliġaa paqnagzimaraqtut.

82 Maani,
83 qitqani qagrim,
84 aġupiusalutik aġuparaqtut sauya.tuat,
85 nanniutam taavruma kiluani.
86 Unna kitaa, inuiqpiura.lugu,
87 kiłłanaq.

88 Siuliik itiq'amik nuliaġiik—
89 itiqmata akpitaqtut—
90 nuik'amik
91 taamna illaminun tiimiani qaitaigaa,
92 taiyuaga
93 aituaġiaa.

94 Aġnam taavruma
95 illaminun suna samna suuraq tiimiani atukagraq qaitaigaa.
96 Tuġumiġa.tuq aġnaq, pualaraqtuq aŋun.
97 Piłłiamik atuun nuŋupman,
98 aġnaq aġuvitaqtuq tamauŋa
99 qulaanun uziġa.tuq taamna aŋun.

100 Nuŋŋimata

he could take those things with him.
They went east to the Nutaat qagri if they were having the dance there,
and went down to Qaluilat too, if they were having it there,
or even to Aguliit.
All the qagri members would be ready
with something for their exchange husbands,
or for their exchange wives, those that had them.
Coils of walrus rawhide rope,
or whatever they had, they would get ready.

Right here,
in the middle of the qagri,
the drummers would get something to sit on and sit down,
between the back wall and the seal oil lamp.
Down on the south side, they would clear out all the people
from the lower end of the qagri.

The first couple entered—
when they came in, the drummers would start singing—
and when the two of them came through the opening in the floor,
the man would give his teasing cousin what he had brought;
what she had named,
he would give her.

The woman of the couple
also gave something useful, however small, to her teasing cousin.
The woman would dance her welcome dance, and the man would dance his.
When they had finished and the song was over,
the woman would take a seat on the floor,
and the man would climb up on the bench next to the wall.

When the dances were over,

101 puggutaŋuyuuratigun
102 niġiksrauranik payuguraġaigait,
103 aitatuġaigait.
104 Niġauraaqtut.
105 Piłhuziqpak nalugigzi inugiaktuaq.
106 Nunaginaqtuat nalugizi.

107 Taima'aa piłłiamik aniapłutik.
108 Suli taapkua aksra.tut
109 taimana suli.

110 Suli yuġaqtuanik pigaagit
111 aulaziqa.tut.
112 Kiruġna.tuanik, saviġna.tuanik,
113 siulimik,
114 issaq imma qaŋasaq,
115 siulimik,
116 aŋukaaginik, pigaaginik, sawaaginik, sayuusiġaqtut.
117 Taimuŋainaq sayuqtaŋilat yuġaqtuat.
118 Suŋuaqtuanigliqaa aŋuniaqtuanik,
119 aġvaniaqtuanik, suruanigliqaa, aġuiruanik,
120 sayuusiġaqtut aulaziqa.tut.
121 Aulaziqa.tuanik taiyuait.
122 Taimuŋainaq izauqtaŋilat.
123 Kaŋiqsinaqta.lutik'aa supmaŋaita sayuusiit.

124 Aŋun nuisinaqłuni parramin;
125 taganani, uziqnani aulaziqtavaga.tuq.
126 Atuutavagaigaat yuġaqtuat.

in small dishes
food would be passed around to people;
they would give food to all.
Then they would eat.
The many ways in which things were done in those days you do not know.
There were many types of entertainment you do not know about.

Then when they had finished, they all went out.
And the others would return the favor
in the same way, another time.

Also, the invitational dancers, as they were called,
had special dance motions.
About powerful people who could not be beaten,
their ancestors,
from times long ago, beyond memory,
about their ancestors
and what they hunted, what game they caught and worked on, people made dances about all these things.
The motions of invitational dancers were not done any old way.
Pretending to be all sorts of things—hunters,
whalers, people doing all kinds of things, even travelers—
they made dances with special motions about them all.
They called them motion dancers.
Their dance motions were not done any old way.
You could understand what was being told through the motions of the dance.

A man would appear through the entrance hole in the floor of the qagri;
remaining down below, without coming up, he would begin making very energetic dance motions.
The invitational dancers would sing very hard for him.

¶ 127 Aġnaq uziq'ami,
128 parram qaanun aġuvizina.luni niuŋni niuŋaaknik aulaziqtuaqtuq.
129 Tauq siulimik piitnik aulaziqa.tuat,
130 aulaziksraġaqtuat.
131 Taimana piqqa.tut aituugauraġaqtut aġġigun.

132 Unniin patkinaq'amik aŋutit agisaġusaira.tut.
133 Imatnaa ugiaġmi.
134 Aŋun una sikhhayuktuaq,
135 nugatpiaq, agiksritiġaigaat.
136 Nalunaitkuziqta.lugu unaqsiyauramik ilait una suuniblugu.
137 Qagrinun aġuipłuni agisaaqtuq.
138 Imma agisaaqtuq tauqsaniaġa.tuq.

139 Taganuŋaqman kaŋiqsiamiruŋ aġuviman parram sitkanun,
140 tiliriraqtut,
141 "Unnuiksraziuŋ ata kanna."
142 Atali uaptiktun, "Aviqsruġuraigaat,"
143 kaŋiqsinaqsiblugu.
144 Imatnaa simmazuitkaluaġaat, unnuiksruġuraigaat.
145 Aviqsruaġiaat suupmaŋaita.
146 Taiyuira.tuq tauqsaniutinik;
147 pizuktaatik nallitaġiait naliksraġaqmata.
148 Tauqsaniaġa.tut taimana.
149 Taimana piqqa.tut Ugiuvaŋmiut.

¶ 127 When a woman came up into the room,
128 she would just sit on the edge of the entrance hole with her legs dangling and perform her dance motions there.
129 They had motions from their ancestors' dances too,
130 motions passed on to them by their ancestors.
131 It was the way they had of giving small gifts through the dance.

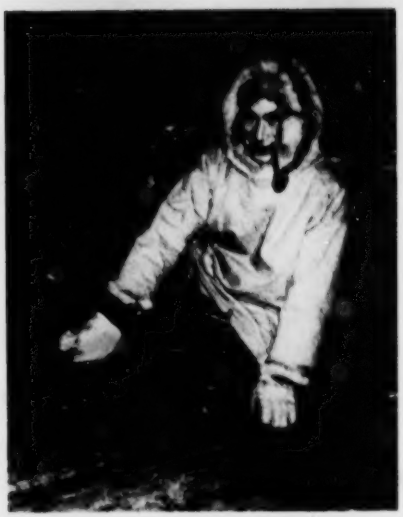
132 Otherwise, when they were in need, the men would ask someone to go trading for them.
133 This they did in the fall.
134 A particular man who was willing,
135 or else a young lad, would be sent out to trade.
136 Some of them would make trademarks on a little piece of wood, to identify the owner of a particular thing.
137 He would walk around to the qagrit, trying to trade what he had.
138 There he would be, trying to sell or trade whatever he had.

139 When he reached the entrance to a qagri, he would sit on the edge of the entrance hole, and when the members realized why he had come,
140 they would send someone down, saying,
141 "Inquire what he is doing down there!"[3]
142 What we would say is, "They had someone ask;"
143 that would be clearer to people nowadays.
144 Saying it in that way, they never changed it: they would "have someone inquire."
145 They would ask him what things he had.
146 He would name the items that he had to trade;
147 and they would pay for what they wanted, if the trader had it.
148 That's the way they would barter.
149 That was the way of the King Islanders.

3. The use of "inquire" is an attempt to translate the uncommon Inupiaq verb *unnuiksruq* which was used especially in the situation described here.

*RIGHT: Magdaline Omiak and Theresa Penatac display their fancy reindeer parkas. Women sewed these parkas entirely by hand. The skins were acquired through trade with mainland reindeer herders. Summer hides were used for the trim around the hem. Their mukluks are of reindeer leg skin.*

*BELOW: John Aulaġana drums in one of the qagrit.*



*ABOVE: Clara Sirloak holds her son, Michael.*

*LEFT: Joachim Koyuk wipes his feet as he emerges from the entrance hole of the Aguliit qagri.*



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# Niglam Aula.tiutaa Ugiuvaŋmi

*Iilana Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on October 12, 1983.*

Atiqtauruk,
Aŋusruglu, Pikkuŋan aaŋaaga,
Agiliinalu.
Aŋiġlaŋilak.
Ugiiruk taima,
aŋiġla.natik.
Qagisimaruk Siŋikagun tatqauna.
Qagik'amik'aa piruqłutik Siġnamun.
Siġnamin'aa Qayalusuaġmiunun ugunuŋa nuułutik.
Aataatkunun aġnaġatiiminun Aasaarugutnun.

Patkinaġaluaqłuni aatapta ivruma Aulaġan,
qaniqsimaruq silamun.
Nukki imna qiniġumiuŋ,
niglamik aulatiqłiuġnivluni, aġġimik.
Qaniqsimaruq silamun.
Agiqsrazimaruq,
qiniġumiuŋ nukki.
Agiqsrazimaruq niglamik.

Uvaġnagraqmauŋ Pitisin Ugiuvautiait tani,

# How the Wolf Dance First Came to King Island

*Frank Ellanna*

There were two of them adrift on the ice,
Aŋusruk, who was Pikkuŋana's father,
and Agiliina.
They did not return from hunting.
They were gone all winter,
without coming home.
They apparently reached land over by Cape Douglas.
And when they got to the land, they went down the coast to the Sinuk River.
And from the Sinuk, they moved down among the people of Cripple River.
They went to my uncles and their families, to their cousins, Aasaaruk and his family.

Longing for the return of the lost men, our father Aulaġana addressed the heavens.
If he saw his younger brother again—wherever he was—
he said he would introduce the wolf dance on King Island, as a celebration.
He addressed the heavens.
He promised something,
if he could see his younger brother again.
He promised a wolf dance.

When spring came, Captain Peterson brought them back again to King Island,

taapkuak.
Paatnanikłuni Agiliina Pitisimik,
atali imna paatnanikłuni.

Uvaġnaaġnin imna katiqsralaaqłutik sunigliġaa.
Ugiaksra.magu niglalata.tut.
Qaluilaamiunik aqpaziqłutik.

Nugatpiaġaaqłunuglu Alvanalu taimna.

Aqpatat tigitmata,
samma aqpaziġlataqman,
qitŋutat qamna avraiqtaviura.lugu,
inuiqpiura.lugu,
iniksriuqsimaraigait.
Itaaqsraigait anauri siuġa.liġa.lugu,
aŋaayuġaat. [Appaaya: Paakun? Tuqsruukun?] Ii'i.

Nuik'ami iqpaami taimna akkagut Saġnaaŋa
qitqanun tatkiuŋa aġuvituq.
Siakłutik aġuptatut
tatqauŋa qitŋumun.

Ayuqatuġaatiuk.
Atagumuuq ipkua
itaaqpata pauliaġumagiuk.
Auyamik taiyuaat uyaġait taaqtuat miŋuksiaqpaktuat,
iġitat.
Miŋuktut itaatinagit maġluuŋnik.

Sammaguuq, itiqpata, inilagvata, aasiiqpatiguk.

those two.
Agiliina took Peterson as his partner,
accepted him as his close friend and partner.

During that entire summer, he gathered things of all kinds.
When fall came, they were going to do the wolf dance.
Men from the Qaluilat qagri were the messengers.

We were just becoming young men, Alvana and I, at that time.

When the messengers arrived,
when it was nearly time to send in the messengers,
the area toward the back of the qagri was cleared out,
so that there were no people left,
to make room for them.
They would start to go in, led by a drummer,
their leader. [Gertrude Analoak: Through the entry? The entrance tunnel?] Yes.

When he came through the opening in the floor and moved away from the door toward the back of the room, our uncle Saġnaaŋa
sat down in the middle there by the back wall.
Spreading out, they sat down
there against the back wall.

They explained to us what we should do.
"Watch those people carefully," we were told;
when they started coming in we were to put black marks on them.
*Auyaq* is what they called those black rocks that were easy to mark with,
a sort of ochre.
Two people tried out the rocks before the others came in.

Then, when they entered and took their places, they told the two of us that it was time.

45 Taamna anauraat,
46 anaurigraat qitqani ittuaq.
47 Mauna qiŋaa saniġaagun iglutun tikkiptiknik,
48 pauliaġumagiguk.

49 Igluiruuq taukigua uguŋainalainaq.
50 Iglulia taamna uguŋainalainaq.
51 Ułłaaptiik, akkaguk taamna—
52 akkaigiguk aaŋaamnuk illuigaat,
53 Saġnaaŋa—
54 paumik, paulavakiuk tamauna.
55 Tamatkua'aa pauliaqłuit suli taukuŋainaq.
56 Pauliaqpagivuk.

57 Kassazausamata,
58 tiligaatiuk pualaliuġniblunuk.
59 Uvva pizuitmiuguk siyuani.
60 Tavra kanŋuzukaluaqłuŋa tauq.
61 Iġiasuŋnaisimaruq,
62 ilaliutiura.tuni.

63 Uvitkaluaġnituŋa tauq tiliuqmatiguk.
64 Aaŋaa kizian tilipmaŋa,
65 iġiasuŋnainiblugu uvituŋa.
66 Pualaavakpazuktuuk taganani.

67 Inugiakpaktuaq nalugigzi,
68 inautaat aġġi Ugiuvaŋmiut.
69 Inugiakpaktuaq.

70 Taamna iniqłuu atuŋilaat nigla.
71 Nuŋutpiuraan ilisimagaluaġnigiga,

That drummer of theirs,
the one who was to beat the drum, was in the middle.
Right here along both sides of his nose, with our forefingers,
we were to blacken him.
Those to one side of him were all to be blackened on the same side.
And those on the other side of him were all to be blackened on the other side.
When we went up to them, our uncle—
he was our uncle, our grandfather's cross-cousin,
Saġnaaŋa—
with soot we blackened him in that area.
And we blackened the others too, on one side only.
We made a lot of black marks.

When the drummers started in,
the two of us were told to dance the opening dance,
even though we had never done it before.
I felt quite shy about it, too.
It was not possible to refuse
joining in and becoming part of it.

I did not go forward at once, though, when they told us to do it.
Only when my grandfather told me to go,
and said that it was not possible to refuse, did I go forward.
We began to dance hard, doing the best we could, there on the floor.

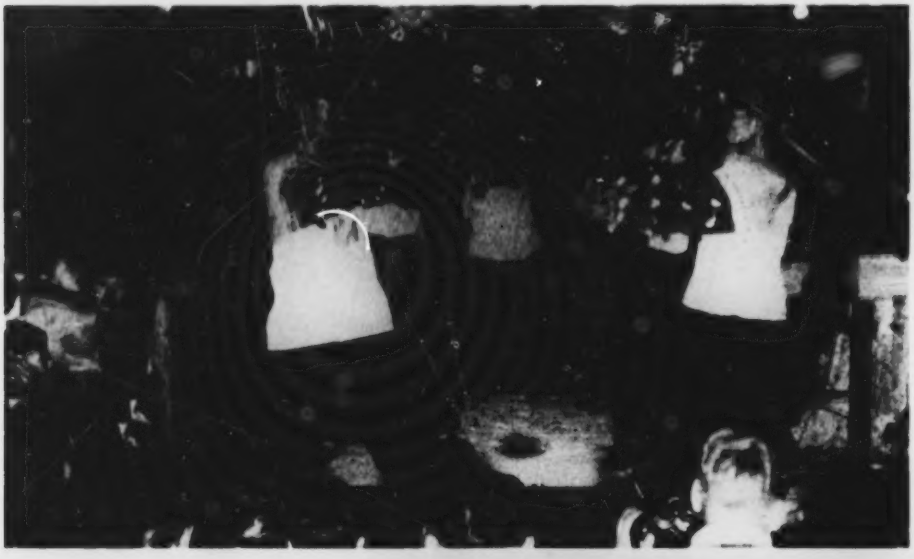
There were so many of them that you don't know them all,
the entertainment dances of the King Islanders.
There were very many.

They did not do the wolf dance all the time.
I do not know the entire thing from start to finish,

tavra ilisimatiglaamnun ałłaani.
Ayuqatuutnazuaġiga ugua uyuġuutka.
Ilisimatiglaamnun piriksraitmata
ayuqatuutiitka,
qaniqta.tuat naalaktaqsinaqłuit.
Atausiaqłuu ilaliutialuaqtuŋa niglaruanun,
Qaluilat pipmata.

only as much of it as I knew last year.[1]
I tried to teach these nephews of mine.
As much as I knew—since there was no one else—
I taught them,
what I heard from those who spoke about it.
Only once did I take part in the wolf dance,
when they did it at Qaluilat qagri.[2]

1. The King Islanders performed the wolf dance for the first time in many years in Nome in the spring of 1982 under the direction of Frank Ellanna.
2. Frank Ellanna's original taped narrative continued, covering information which appears in other stories in this section.



*ABOVE: King Islanders perform the Wolf Dance. Dancers, from the left, are Frank Ellanna, unidentified, Leo Kunnuk, Sr., John Alvanna, and Philip Tattayunna. Their shoulder-length dance mittens are made of sealskin dyed red with alder bark or ochre. The hair is turned inside. The rattles on the outside were traditionally puffin bills.*

*RIGHT: Ignatius Alik "does the tightrope." The winner is the one who can spin around on the rope the most times.*

*LEFT: Frank Ellanna uses a bow drill to make a cribbage board out of a walrus tusk.*

*BELOW: Leo Kunnuk, Jr., in the center, wearing a mask, dances in the qagri. The drummers, from left, are Philip Tattayunna, John Alvanna, Carl Qattaq, Frank Ellanna, Paul Kunnuk (child), Leo Kunnuk, Sr., Bernard Kasgnoc, and Joachim Koyuk.*

# Ulaurutit

*Iilan Quliapyua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on October 12, 1983.*

1 Inugiakpaktuaq piłhuziq nalugigzi.

2 Ugiaġmi,
3 mazaq uvva una uguŋainaaqtuq maatnami.
4 Ayagaq taamna atuqsimaraigaat ugruum aksrauga, aksrauq.
5 Qimuktiŋuamik maatnami taiyataġaat,
6 ayagaq una.
7 Ugiaġmi atuqsimaraigaat
8 mazaġuuq una qilamik igliġupłuu,
9 ayaguglugu.
10 Mitiglirautavakta.lutik tayaġnautimikun.
11 Ayaga.zimaraqtut.
12 Ayaŋnimagu uuma tuglimi mitiglavagaina.lugu.
13 Qapsinik mitiglavagaina.lugu, qapsinik ayak'amiuŋ tuiġam uuma.

14 Inautiayaaq imna atuŋaiqtuq unniin.
15 Aiġvuuraaqłutik tapqa.nait aiviŋuipłuit,
16 unaaŋualalugit.
17 Migiqłini inautiigiut.



130

# Entertainment

*Frank Ellanna*

There used to be many ways and customs that you do not know.

In the fall,
the sun gradually gets lower in the sky at this time of year.
They used to play the bone-toss game then, using the bone from a bearded seal's foreflipper, the foreflipper bone.
Now they call it the "toy dog,"
this bone-toss game.
They would use it in the fall
to try to make the sun travel faster,
to make it rise higher in the sky faster.
They used to flick their middle fingers and thumbs against each other's wrists.
They used to play the bone-toss game for a long time.
When a person failed to catch the bone through the hole, his opponent would flick him with his middle finger and thumb.
The number of times a person got flicked on the wrist depended on the number of times he tossed the bone and whether he caught it through the hole.

There were many forms of entertainment back then which are no longer practiced.
They played at walrus hunting, making toy walruses of woven beach grass,
and they made toy harpoons.
As children, we had those things for our toys.

¶ 18 Kuusiit, niqsaurat kuusiit, kiayiŋmik alluliuqłuit,
19 putuuŋuyuura.lugu,
20 suli taamna kuusik putupłuu.
21 Panalitiŋuałuuranik inautiġaqtut.
22 Iġałuat unniin niaquit paniqsimaruat,
23 niaqugut inautiisimagait,
24 satkuŋuyuuranik'aa pitikta.lugit.

25 Sulliġaa ipkua atuŋaiġiut.
26 Inauraaqpaktaqłutik ilaatni.
27 Taavrumakŋa inauraaġuraŋaiqmata,
28 sayagrauraŋaiqmata saviġnaiqpaliarut.

29 Aŋutit unniin, imatnaa tuaq inilaŋmagu,
30 igluliġiikłutik.
31 Inakuziqtuanik taiyuait,
32 qagriit inuit anaktausruat,
33 piilitausruat, anaktausruat.

34 Tavra qagrinun uuma
35 piuminaitpaliakaaganik imma qagrim inuit aqma,
36 piliuqsimara.tuq aŋun.

37 Ułłautalugu'aa.
38 Nunułaaq ułłautizimazuitaigaat,
39 taamna ułłautataqsimagaat anaktaun,
40 qanuġuuq ittuaq.
41 Taapkua'aa yaŋakłuu qaġġitipmaruŋ.
42 Imma ipkua pizimagaagat ałłam qagrim inuita.

¶ 18 We had pelvis bones from little seals, and we would make holes in a shoulder blade,
19 making a little hole right through it,
20 and we would make a hole in the pelvis bone too.
21 They had tiny spears as toys.
22 And even the heads of tomcods, which were dried,
23 they used to use those heads as toys,
24 shooting at them with little bows and arrows.

25 There were all sorts of games then that we don't play anymore.
26 They used to play many games, at times.
27 Because they no longer play those games,
28 and no longer have that physical exercise, people have probably become weak.

29 And the men, when the shore ice had become solid,
30 would take opposing sides.
31 "Those striving to be the best," they were called,
32 the qagri members who competed at sports,
33 those who were trying not to be beaten in sports competition.

34 Then for the members of another qagri, a person
35 would try to think of something those members of another qagri probably could not do,
36 and this man would make something to challenge them with.

37 Then he would take it over to the other qagri.
38 The members of one qagri would take some kind of puzzle over to the others;
39 they took some kind of competition game over for the others to figure out
40 what it was.
41 The others would try to figure it out when it was brought to them.
42 The members of the first qagri had already solved it.

43 Aŋutim pizimagaaga.
44 Yaŋakłuu taapkua nallinasuaqsimaraigaat.
45 Pitaġiamiruŋ nalitaqłuu atali.
46 Taimana anaktautizimaraqtut suli.
47 Agra.tausruanik taiyuait.
48 Qanuġliġaa illiuqłutik.

43 One of the men had solved it.
44 By trying to figure it out, the one group would try to repay the others for it.
45 When they solved it, it was as if they'd repaid the first qagri for it.
46 In that way they were part of the competition also.
47 The game was called "carriers."
48 They played it in many different ways.

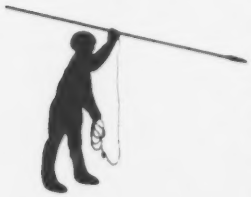
*ABOVE: Rita Ailuk, Theresa Sirloak, and Frances Qilaġruaq hold a pair of king crabs.*

*RIGHT: Theresa Sirloak and Mary Agnes Ellanna try to hook crab shells with a nail tied to a piece of string. The object of the game is to move the shell a certain distance without dropping it. The girls are wearing necklaces made of old trade beads.*

# Aŋuniaqtit

## Hunters

Hunters, who provided much of the King Islanders' food, faced danger almost daily as they walked over the shifting sea ice or traveled in their boats through the rough seas surrounding the island. Aloysius Pikonganna tells about hunting polar bear, the most dangerous animal the King Islanders knew, especially in the days before rifles when hunters had only spears.



Frank Ellanna tells of a tradition that allowed young boys to share a hunter's catch.

Two stories tell of hunters who became marooned on ice floes that broke away from shore and carried them out to sea. In these stories the hunters finally reached land. Not all hunters were so fortunate.

"The Cormorant Hunters" is probably the oldest story in this collection. It has an eerie quality, describing how hunters would scale cliffs at night to catch sleeping birds. In this dangerous setting, a crime is committed, leading to revenge and tragedy.

# Taguġa.niaqtavaak

*Pikkuŋan Unipkaaga*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on February 1, 1983.*

Avuglu mautmata,
Kuguk una imma aulaaruq.
Qautinagu naguatun Ugiuvaŋmi mauta.tugut.
Taimana issimarut.

Nunam izuagun taikuuna atiq'ami piriktuq tuvvamin.
Imma tuwaaq piriksimaruq siuraani.
Nauŋ? Marraa qiniġait tumiqpait,
taguqam tumiqpait.

"Azitna.lukamiik! Kiziurausimaruq imna."
Tamauna tumaitiun, tuvaumiaa

Aulaaruq.
Naguamuinaq imna aġuiġlataqsimapman,
kanuŋa Ugiuvaum saanun aġuiġlataqsimapman.
Tavraguuq qaupmau naguatun—
aġlit magua aktuurut aŋmaluaġiktuat uuŋa atipkautalugit—
taamna matta.lugu alli, tavruŋa iligaluaġaigaa taguqam ivruma tumaitnun.
Aziniŋara.tuq una.
Tavra aktuuluata.niġum taguġaq.

Tavra una ubliruq tuvra.luni.

# Two Great Polar Bear Hunters

*Aloysius Pikonganna*

Avuk was along when the men went out hunting on the ice;
Kuguk had started out earlier.
At King Island, we'd go out hunting on the ice before daybreak.
That is how they used to be.

Near Land's End[1] Avuk went down and left the shore ice, walking out onto the pack ice.
Earlier, someone had gone down onto the pack ice before him.
But what was that? There he saw large tracks,
the large tracks of a polar bear.

"Oh dear!" he thought. "That man who set off earlier is all alone."
Following his tracks, he started after him.

He set off.
The other man had started walking in the right direction;
he had walked down onto the ice in front of King Island.
Then, when it had gotten lighter—
coils of sealskin rope are big and round and can be worn here around the neck—
Avuk took off his coil of sealskin rope and placed it down on that polar bear's tracks.
The coil fit inside.
He knew, therefore, that it was a very large polar bear.

Avuk spent all day following the tracks.

1. A high cliff on the east side of King Island.

20 Aŋunazuaqnaik ipkuak, qiniġna.zinazuaqnaik.
21 Izumamini naguuqsinaqłuni tuvraik ipkuak.
22 Satamuŋaqłunilu kiziani ilaatni iluqnaumin ivutaitnun iuġnanun mayualaktuq.
23 Kannaa! Tagananisaq maġluuk aniŋaruak iluqnaum qitqani.
24 Tamatkua tumit siuġnani.
25 Ułłagaik.

26 Tamaġmik uguak uvalazimaruk, iŋŋaa!
27 Taiŋanisiuraq taguġaq uvalazimaruq.
28 Taamna uvvaa tuwaaq siptulaŋaruq.
29 (Qappiġiruanik piraġiait.)
30 Publak manna qavuk mannaguuq anisimagaa taavruma aŋutim, niaquni naliqaglugu.
31 Iŋŋaa taikŋa ułłagaa taguġaq, iŋŋaa taimana ittuq.
32 Nuŋuutizimaruk uguak taguġa.lu tuwaaġlu atausigun.

33 Ułłaamiuŋ taikŋa taguġaq aipaagan taavruma Kuguum piaa,
34 "Ataki, iŋna nuguvilutin!
35 Kiliqsinaġluu unniin piaqtuuŋ.
36 Uaŋa tuġułiuġia."
37 "Naumi, saviġia uaŋa, iblin tuġusa.tuġuŋ, saviqtuŋa uaŋa."
38 Tavraguuq suli tavrani;
39 qaikuraaqtuatun ittuk.
40 Pizuġnituq una ubluminin maliqataqtuaq uumaŋa.

He tried not to catch up to the two who were ahead of him and tried not to be seen by them either.
It was his idea to take his time tracking them.
Only after going far out from shore, from a large ice pan he climbed to the top of a tall ice pile.
Down there! Way down below two forms stood out in the middle of an ice pan.
The tracks led to them.
He went to where they were.

Both of them there were completely exhausted.
Not far from the man, the polar bear lay completely exhausted.
And there was the man, lying flat on his face.
(They say of them that they were foaming at the mouth.)
Bubbles and froth had come out of that man, until his head was covered.
From there Avuk went over to the polar bear, which was in the same condition.
They had both become exhausted these two—the polar bear and the person—at the same time.

When he went over to the polar bear from there, Kuguk's companion [Avuk] said to him,
"Come on now, stand up!
Put a cut in it at least.
Then I will kill it."[2]
"No, I am unable to do it. You go ahead and kill it; I am unable."
This is the way it happened;
they were like people quarreling.
He didn't want to do it, the one who had been following the animal all day.

2. To put a cut in a dead animal is to declare it officially one's catch.

¶ 41 Tavra piuminaisimapman, tuġutkaa taavruma.

42 Miġmaninuuq tavra uakŋa piiqsiura.tuk.

43 Aŋitqiigaluaqłuuguuq taavruma Kuguum.
44 (Tuwaaqpauruguuq uguak tamaġmik.)
45 Niaquq una piiq'amiuŋ.

46 Tavruŋa imna iligaa uuŋa niaquq.
47 Aŋutavauruġuuq, niuqpaġaġuŋnaqtuq.
48 Imatnaaguuqtauq, kannaaguuq una miksruurauyuminailaq niaquq.
49 (Miksruuraŋa.) Imatna aktigruaq.
50 Siutiguuq uvvaa tiuna.tuk tavruŋa uuŋa tuuqtilugu.
51 Tavra aktuuluataniġum taguġaq.

52 Uvvaaguuq piaa taavruma Kuguum,
53 "Ataki una taarulaquk niaquq."
54 Kamagialuaqłuu una.
55 Naumiiqpiuraa taavruma maliqataqtuam, "naumi."
56 Niġiksrauram iniksrauraa pizinaukaak.
57 Tuiġanunuuq qaŋaanin qinigaiguraqublugu taaruyukaluaġaa.
58 Uvvaaguuq naipatuqtuk, unnuata.zimaruq.
59 Ugiuvaguuq tavra pikna imiqtizimaaak.

60 Imiqtiniraigaat unuŋazaqtuat Ugiuvak,

¶ 41 Then, when it was clear that the other man was unable to do it,
Avuk killed it himself.

42 The two of them cut a piece from its rump.

43 It is said that Kuguk was amazed by the size of it.
44 (Both of them were very large men.)
45 He cut off the bear's head.

46 He set the head right down in front of him.
47 He was a big man and must have had very long legs.
48 Like this it is said, he set down in front of him what could only
have been a very large head.
49 (I am a small person.) It was this big.
50 He was able to grab the ears, it is said, only if he stretched.
51 That is how large the polar bear was.[3]

52 Kuguk said to the other man,
53 "Let us take this head back with us."
54 He was utterly amazed by its size.
55 "Definitely not," said the one who had followed him. "No."
56 It would take up all the space for the meat.
57 He [Kuguk] wanted to bring it back so that it could be seen by
people for a long time.
58 Then they got their bearings and checked the weather and their
location, since night was coming on.
59 Far behind was King Island; they were "giving it a drink"!

60 Those that go far out on the sea are said to be "giving King Island a
drink,"[4]

3. Aloysius Pikonganna explained that the man set the head between his legs with the snout facing toward him and had to spread his arms wide to grab the ears.
4. When one is far from the island, only the two peaks are visible above the horizon, and the rest appears to be underwater. When King Island appears this way from far off, the person who sees it is said to be "giving it a drink."

61 paggaa qauqpak paŋna sitka aguvlaq pikna,
62 naġiktuŋuuraq tamana naliqaglugu taġiuq manna itman,
63 imiqtitaaganik quliapyuaġiaat.

64 Naagaguuq tavra taatuk, piłqhinauq'amik.
65 Kiitaima imna unnugaa, aasinuuq'aa qiniġna.tuq.
66 Muluŋilak.
67 Qamma kiwataaknin quġuaqtuq.
68 "Azitna.lukamiik!" aipi Kuguum piaa. "Azitna.lukamiik!
69 Kizimnuk qaa unnuktuqsimaitkaatiuk!"
70 Aŋiġaa.
71 Uvva tuwaagaluuġnimiuq taavruma aŋiqtuam.
72 Uniaġazuaqtuk.

73 Uniaqłutik utiġmuinaq, naqmuŋainaq una aipaaga kiŋiaqtuq.
74 Marraa tamana, uani atali naalaktaagak.
75 Quqquyak aġuisimaruq.
76 Sigguuŋniguuq tavra unuŋa tussinaqłuik aġuisimaruq.
77 Immaguuq tamana uniaġniguak tuġlataq'amiuŋ,
78 niġvalaŋaami marraa tuttuq.
79 Marraa niġvalaŋa.miuq uvva auŋainaq aulaaruq, Siŋatuuŋnuinaq.
80 Immaguuq imna!

81 Aqmaguuq ayuqpaŋnani,
82 quġuaqtuq akkuni ivrumatun.

61 for in the distance are seen the two peaks with the gap between them, far above the shore of the island,
62 and when the sea appears to be at the level of this low spot between the peaks,
63 it is said of those who see King Island this way that they have "given it a drink."

64 Despite everything, the two men started back when they were ready.
65 After a while night fell, but it was still possible to see.
66 They hadn't been traveling long.
67 Then, from the west came a call.[5]
68 "Oh my!" Kuguk said to his companion. "Oh my!
69 We are not the only ones to have night fall upon us!"
70 The other agreed.
71 Although it did not sound to him like a human, he agreed.
72 They continued to pull their catch along behind them.

73 As they pulled it along, Kuguk kept turning to look back in different directions.
74 There it was, the thing they thought they had heard.
75 A giant polar bear was walking along.
76 Its snout just touched the ground below as it walked along.
77 Then, it is said, when it reached the trail they had made as they pulled their catch behind them,
78 it rolled over on its back and lay there.
79 There it was lying on its back, and then it headed east toward Twin Peaks on the mainland.
80 Then it was gone, that one!

81 From a short distance, not far away,
82 it made the call they had heard before.

5. The call sounded like that of a hunter who has made a kill.

83 Suna'uaguuq una quqquyak
84 tuġunaituaq.
85 Naagaguuq tani taavruma Kuguum piyaluaġaa aipi, "Taamnalu qaaŋ pigaġlaġuk?"
86 Aipaaganuuq tani pizuġnigaa atnanita.liuġniblutik.
87 Tuġusumina.zimaamigu kiaq tani taimana qaniqsimagaluaqtuq.
88 "Atnanita.liuġaatiuk."
[Pikkuŋana igla.tuq.]

They found out later that this giant polar bear
was not to be killed.
But even so, it is said, Kuguk said again to his companion,
"Shouldn't we try to get that one?"
His companion said he did not want to do it, lest they get hurt.
Perhaps they would have been able to kill it as the first man had
suggested.
"He might hurt us," the other had said.
[Aloysius Pikonganna laughs.]

*RIGHT: Seven men pull the hide and meat of a polar bear that was killed by Charles Pullock, standing next to the bear. In front of Charles is Edward Muktoyuk. Behind the bear is Aloysius Pikonganna. The other men are unidentified.*

*BELOW: Children prepare to slide on a polar bear hide. Women would clean the fat from a bear hide and would then tie the hide to a pole, submerging it under the sea ice overnight to wash it. When children slid on the hide, hair side down, they were actually helping to dry it.*

*ABOVE: Charles Pullock returns from a hunt with a polar bear hide. Hunters cut up bears on the ice at the site of the kill. They wrapped the meat inside the hide to drag it home.*

# Iligaaġruit Niŋiłqhat

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

Ugiaġmi unniin qayaqtatuat—
migiqłiunaptikni—
qiliqmiiyaaqtuamik naalaŋnaġa.tuq aniiġnaptikni.
"Qiliqmiiyaaa!"

Qiniġniaqłuni agaa,
qiliqmiiyaak uiva.zimaraqtuk.
Ayaupiavut pipłuit,
uvaakaavaaqtuut akkumun taunuŋa.

Avutainiani ugiaġmi,
taaguŋa aqparuġazuaġa.tugut uyaġaktigun.
Saviġnaniqsraut unitaigaatiut.

Qallimaknik,
iligaaġruum ayaupiani iitaigaa imaanun.
Kuyapagzaaġa.tuġuuq.

Qayyak taapkuak kalituak ugruŋmik,
apquzaaqłuu qagitaigaak.

Kuum ataanamaknik, ułłausruapta.

# The Boys' Share of the Hunt

*Frank Ellanna*

During the fall, those who were out hunting in their kayaks—
this was while we were still children—
you could hear them call, *"Qiliqmiiyaa!"*[1] while we were out playing.
"Qiliqmiiyaaa!"

When we looked to the east,
two kayaks lashed together would be coming into sight.
Taking our walking sticks,
we would all rush down to the edge of the island.

Before there was snow, in the fall,
we would try to run over the rocks toward the kayaks.
Those who were stronger than we were would leave us behind.

When the kayaks came closer,
a boy would hurl his walking stick into the water.
He would receive a piece of the bearded seal tenderloin.

Those two kayaks towing a bearded seal
would take the stick out of the water as they passed by.

When they reached the area below the creek which flows by the village, we would go to them.

1. *"Qiliqmiiyaa"* refers to a pair of kayaks lashed together by hunting partners returning from a successful seal hunt.

18 Samma taamna iitqaaqtuaq atausiurauruq pilaqtuq.
19 Amiġlat pizuilat.
20 Atausiuraq siuliq pilaqtuq.

21 Niŋiġa.tuq kussina.paŋmik.
22 Kuyapagzaaġa.tuġuuq.
23 Qanuġliġaa iliuqłutik pinasuaġa.tut.

24 Ublaami kiniqalata.mata,
25 kaŋałaniġani atqa.tuni,
26 tazuġniani, kaŋałiaqtut.

27 Iligaaġruit unaqsiauranik
28 tuyuġa.tut.
29 Tuyuġa.turuuq.

30 Qayaqta.tuaksramun uumuŋa,
31 tapqaitnun tamauŋa,
32 miqqinaqtuq.

33 Qannaruqłuu, ugruġupłuu,
34 unniin niqsaġupłuu.

35 Ipquutaŋami,
36 samma taimana niŋiqsimara.tuq kuyapiyaapaŋmik,
37 kussina.paŋmik,
38 tuyuqtuaq, unaqsiauramik iliriruaq.

39 Atausiaqłuutauq atqa.tuaŋa migiqłiunamni.
40 Agiliin taivruma piaaŋa,
41 tuyuġlaŋaguuq ilaagun.
42 Imnagiaq imna pizuumiliq'amik tauq.

Then the one who had thrown his stick first would be the only one of the boys to get a share of the meat.
Not all of them could.
Only the first one got a share.

He would get a share of the big tenderloin.
He would get part of the back with the tenderloin.
They would try every way they could to be first.

In the morning when the men were preparing their kayaks to go out hunting—
if we went down while they were getting ready—
with the first light of day, they would be getting ready.

The boys would take little pieces of wood
and send them out with the hunters.
They would send them out, it is said.

With a hunter going out in his kayak,
underneath the bow ropes,
a little piece of wood was wedged in.

The boy would ask that the hunter get a bearded seal,
or even a ringed seal.

If his request was fulfilled,
in that way he got a share of the back of the animal,
the tenderloin;
the one who sent the little piece of wood and placed it on the kayak got that.

One time, I went down as a young child.
Agiliina told me
that I should send a little piece of wood with him.
I wonder if, back then, he had the feeling that he would catch something.

¶ 43 Unaqsiauramik tamaakŋa pik'ama,
44 tapqaitnun maŋukia.
45 "Ugruumautin!"
46 Quyaruq.

47 Qiliqmiiyaaguuq naanaakun.
48 Agiliina uvvaa, aipaaga,
49 ugrugzimaruq.

50 Niŋiapaktuŋa imma kusinaapaŋmik.

51 Taimana pinasuaqtut, ipkua tuiġat,
52 *free* pilaqłutik.

¶ 43 Picking up a little piece of wood from around there,
44 I thrust it in under his bow ropes, saying,
45 "May you catch a bearded seal!"
46 He was grateful.

47 Later on, someone called, "Qiliqmiiyaa!"
48 There was Agiliina, one of the pair of kayaks;
49 he had indeed caught a bearded seal.

50 I got a big share of the tenderloin.

51 The people of that time tried to do things in this way,
52 without money, free.

*ABOVE: Two boys, probably Tony Koezuna and Romeo Katexac, pull a seal over the ice. Children often went to meet returning hunters to help them pull their catch home.*

*RIGHT: Qawaġliaq uses a harness to pull a baby walrus ashore.*

*ABOVE: Raphael Sebwenna and Aloysius Ellanna (Frank Ellanna's son) shoot slingshots.*

# Aŋayuġaksraq

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

1 Tamarumani taqqimi aŋuniaqpaaqtut Ugiuvaŋmiut.
2 Tuaqtinagu mayuaqta.lutik.
3 Taimanisaq uqsruitman, aiġviman Ugiuvak,
4 Nutaanun tauq ugua Aŋayuġaksraga katisimarut.
5 Aŋayuġaksram ivruma aaŋapta uyuġuugit...
6 uyuġuuni ivruma munaġa.vaksimagait Aŋayuġaksram.

7 Uqsruisimarut naniit,
8 uqsrugraisimarut.
9 Tavra aaŋaa puuyazuiniraġiaa,
10 aaŋa.mi qaumatik'azuaga naniq;
11 miilaamiguuq uqsrazaġaluaġaa!
12 Iguumaluataŋilaġuuq, nutuġaala.vaksinaqtuġuuq.

13 Tavraguuq taamna puuyazuunau, puuyanagu,
14 niqsa.niaġazuaqtuq piyauq'ami.
15 Niqsa.niaqpaktaqtuq.
16 Mayuaqtuaq Aŋayuġaksraq taimna,
17 Aŋayuġaksraq aaŋagut taguġagzimaruq.
18 Taimana ugiaġmi uqsrunikłutik,
19 taguqam uqsruanik.
20 Munaġa.vaksimagait Aŋayuġaksram uyuġuuni.

# Old Grandfather

*Frank Ellanna*

During this month [December], the King Islanders hunted a lot.
Before the shore ice had formed, they would climb over the top of the island and go down to the shore on the other side.
Long ago, at a time when there was no blubber because the spring walrus hunt had been poor on King Island,
Old Grandfather's[1] family had moved into the Nutaat qagri.
Old Grandfather of long ago, our ancestor, his nieces and nephews...
that Old Grandfather took good care of his nieces and nephews.

Their lamps had no oil,
they had no oil at all.
My grandfather said he would never forget it,
how his father tried to light the lamp;
with soap, it is said, he tried to fuel it!
It did not burn well, they say, but only sputtered a great deal.

So never forgetting this, unable to forget it,
he tried to become a good seal hunter when he was able to hunt.
He became a very good seal hunter.
He climbed over the island down to the back side, Old Grandfather back then;
Old Grandfather, our ancestor, killed a polar bear.
In that way, during the fall, they got oil for the lamps,
polar bear fat.
He took very good care of his nieces and nephews, Old Grandfather.

1. Kunaŋnana was called Old Grandfather (Aŋayuġaksraq). He had seven sisters and took care of their children, his nieces and nephews.

# Atiqtaak Ugiuvaŋmin

*Qigiqtam Quliapyuŋnikua*

*Recorded by Margaret Seeganna and Gertrude Analoak on July 12, 1983.*

Suli taimani piitpiura.naptiŋni,
Ugiuvaŋmiuk uguak uvaġnagrami qayaqtazimaruk.
Aivaniaġna.zipłuulu,
qayaqtazimaruak.
Taunani unani inniakni,
uŋalauġutisimagik.

Avauraruq aipaaga puuyazuitaaġa,
aipaaga imma taamna puuyuiga.
Tuaaqatigiikłutik,
qayaqtazimaruak uŋalauġutisimagik.
Tuaqa.luguguuq, tuaqa.niġani Ugiuvak.

Taasuminaiqtuguuq.
Tuaġuuq pamna uvruiluami
uŋalam qaim siġumiaġaa,
taasuminaiqłuik.
Taunaniguuq Ugiuvaum unaniziquluuraani,
taasuminaiqtuk.
Ubliruguuq tavra taunani malliitaaqtuami.

Uvvaaguuq imna naamagziuŋuyuura.man,
kilutmuinaaġugzaqtuk Ugiuvaŋmuinaq.
Piŋŋaaguuq siguqpaak pitkuak tuavinaapaak

# Two King Islanders Adrift

*Mary Muktoyuk*

At an earlier time, long before we were born,
two King Islanders were out in their kayaks in springtime.
When it had become time for walrus hunting,
they went out in their kayaks.
While they were out on the sea,
a southeast wind came upon them.

Avauraq was one of them, the one whose name I haven't forgotten;
the other one's name from back then I have forgotten.
Traveling as companions,
they went in their kayaks when the southeast wind came upon them.
It is said that there was shore ice, that the shore ice was still solid at King Island.

It became impossible for the two of them to reach the shore.
Even though the shore ice was very thick,
the southeast wind and waves broke it up,
leaving them no way to return to shore.
Out at sea, quite far from King Island,
they were unable to return to shore.
They spent the whole day out where the sea was calmer.

Then when it got a little calmer,
they wanted to come closer in, toward King Island.
Up toward shore were two big pieces of shore ice,

katitqaaqłutiguuq awita.tuk.
Piŋŋaaguuq'aa atali pinaġa.tuq kilutmuinaq,
taaguŋainaq iŋmiŋnun piksiutaŋaknik.

Avauramuuq uvaa taavruma tuaaqataan piaa...
piaaguuq taasuglutik—
taasaukłuni,
atyumigiagutaŋamiukiaġuuq una tuavinaapaak.
Imatna iliqpaktaqtuak uŋasigziqpaglutik.

Avauraġuuq pizuġnituq.
Taavruma imma tuaaqataan atqa puuyuiga,
utiġuminaiqmanuuq uvaa piaa Avauram,
"Quliutyumagitin papkua naguatun tulakuin, saviqłuŋaguuq maliŋilagin.
Saviġiagutaluŋaguuq maliŋilagin.
Naguatun quliutyumagitin."

Taimaguuq taimana qaġnutitalaaqłuni.
Utaqiuqłuu'aa taamna,
imatnaa ilipmaŋnik uguak tuavinaapaak,
awisa.vaknik aŋualiaġugluni.
Qiniqpiuraaguuq.

Awisa.makniguuq ipkuak, aŋualiaqsa.tuq.

Iŋiaŋilaiguuq.

Puktina.paaguuq uguak taimana iliġlaaqłutik,
tuttinagu awituk. Auk uvva aglaan...

crashing together and then separating again.
Up there, it is said, it looked possible to go back toward shore,
to head shoreward when the two chunks of ice separated.

Then Avauraq's companion said to him...
he said to him that they should go ashore together—
that he wanted to try to get to shore,
thinking he might risk passing between those two big chunks of shore ice.
They would come together like this, and then move far apart.[1]

Avauraq said he would not do it.
His companion, whose name I have forgotten,
when he had made up his mind, Avauraq said to him,
"Please tell those people on shore, if you land safely, that I would not take the risk and did not go with you.
I was unwilling to risk it and did not go with you.
Tell them the truth."

It happened this way, then, after he had been spoken to.
He waited for that to happen,
for the two big pieces of ice to come together,
so that when they parted, he could start paddling.
Avauraq watched his companion very closely.

When the two icebergs parted, he began to paddle right away.

He didn't make it past them.

Those two big icebergs, when they came together like this,[2]
separated again before he got through. Only blood remained...

1. Mary Muktoyuk showed the tremendous force of the ice by separating her arms and bringing them suddenly together.
2. Mary Muktoyuk clapped her hands together.

45 tuavinaapaaŋni taapkuŋnani.

46 Pitailaq. Sutailaq.

47 Tavrani'aa auliaknani,
48 naamagziuŋuyuura.magu.

49 Suna'uaguuq tavra Siuqamuinaq,
50 Siuqam tuŋaanun saġva.zimaaa.
51 Qanuġuuġuuq pinasuaŋilaq.

52 Sitamaniguuq tavra ubluni siniŋniniruq unnuktuumaita.

53 Uvvaaguuq imna sitamaŋuqłutiglu ublut,
54 sinŋum azivagaa, quuniuqpaglugulu.
55 Nunataitmiuq uvva.

56 Ak. Qiwiłuniguuq uvvaa, qayyaminun itiqłuni.
57 Mazaġuuq tavra qavigataqpiura.man, siniktuq.
58 Qanuqtunuuq siniktiglaani nalugaa.

59 Sinikaluaqłuniguuq uvaa,
60 tuvaktuq mazaq uvaa qavigataqsimaruq.
61 Naagaguuq una unnuigaluaqłuni ublizimawa suli sinikłuni.

62 Quuniuqpaŋmigaaguuq uvva.
63 Tavraŋaguuq magituq,
64 quunavaksimapman.

65 Magitnamiguuq'aa,
66 uivraaqłuni nunaliŋnun qavilibluni.

67 Tavraniguuq uvaa qaviliwałagluni,

on those two big pieces of shore ice.

There was nothing left. Nothing at all.

He did not move from there
since it was becoming a little calmer.[3]

It turned out to be in the direction of St. Lawrence Island,
toward St. Lawrence Island, that the current had carried him.
It happened, he said, because he had not tried to do anything.

For four days, he said, he did not sleep, and four nights too.

Then, it was on the fourth day
that sleep overcame him, and it had become very calm.
There was no land to be seen anywhere.

"Oh well," he thought. Giving up, he got into his kayak.
The sun was about to set when he went to sleep.
How long he slept he did not know.

After sleeping and sleeping,
he awoke, and the sun was just setting again.
He said he may have spent all night and all day sleeping.

It had become very, very calm.
He got up from where he had slept,
because it had become so very calm.

When he got up, he said,
he paddled in a circle trying to sight something, some land.

Right there, as he was scanning the horizon,

3. When it is stormy, it is said that the weather is asking for a victim. The weather calms once it is appeased.

68 atali samna nuna.
69 Ilaaqaa samna nuna qiniuraaa.
70 Takpigvaŋaiqtuguuq suli irik.

71 Uvvaaguuq imna qiniġnaaġigziruq—
72 nuna piŋna.

73 Tavraŋaguuq aŋuaguraqłuni tuŋaŋianazuaġaa.
74 Qanusiutiglaan nalugaa una nuna suutiglaan.

75 Samma Kaambumi qiniġuŋnaġiktik taava aŋna tallitun ittuaq.
76 Taliġumik pizimaraġiaat, kaqqazukpak.
77 Atali taliŋuaq amna pilaqmaruŋ.
78 Imatna ittuq.

79 Qiniġaaguuq piŋŋaaguuq.
80 Imatna iliuqsinaqłuni, qailatuaq.
81 Qanuġuuq samma taimana qailiaqtuq,
82 itisa.vauluata.niġum.

83 Suna'uaguuq tavra taavruma kaġġaun, kaġġani.
84 Iŋŋaaguuq taimana iliuqtuaq atyumigiagutigaa:
85 "Sammagiaq iġmum marruma igayaluŋa,
86 naqmun samma qak'ayaġaaŋa."

87 Atyumigiagutaŋamiuŋ'aa uuktaaqłuni.
88 Tamakniguuq iluaġiagutaluik.

89 Naagaguuq uvaa naguatun qaggitigaa tamaruma iġmum.
90 Suna'ua taavruma kaġġaun,
91 suna'ua Siuqagun,
92 Kaambugun.

there was something that looked like land.
He thought maybe he saw a little land out there.
His eyesight had grown weak, he said.

After a while, he began to see a little better—
it was land up there.

From there, paddling a little, he tried to go toward it.
He did not know what land it was.

Out at Gambell, you might have seen something that looks like an arm.
They call it "the place like an arm," that big point of land.
Just like what they call the Aleutian Chain.
It is shaped like this.

He said he saw it up there.
The surf was hitting the shore just like this.
There is constant surf there
for it is very deep.

It turned out to be that point of land, he said.
He wanted to take a chance and try to get through the surf, which was crashing on the shore.
"I wonder if this water will help me
so that I can get ashore somewhere."

When he was ready to take a chance on it, he made an attempt.
He was resigned to the outcome, either way.

It happened that the water brought him safely to shore.
It turned out to be that point of land;
it turned out that he reached St. Lawrence Island,
at Gambell.

¶ 93 Uŋasiktuq sammaa, ininiin!

94 Qagik'amiguuq,
95 niuk'ami,
96 ayuumiun imna sawiŋminik,
97 qayyami amia sigruaa.

98 Sigrualuaqłuu'aa,
99 nuŋułuu imna imiġmun iiłuu,
100 qayyani tamana.
101 Suġġa.luŋni kiziita pipłuit.

102 Naqmunuuq aulaġisugva.
103 Suna'uaguuq tavra navitmuinaq samuŋainaq, aula.tiqsimaruq.
104 Aqqaaġagut taipkua tukkupta suna'ua kaapauyatnun,
105 siuliita kaapauyatnun.
106 Qaŋami tukkupta.
107 Taapkuaguuq uvvaa naligiwiura.lugit atiqsimaruq.

108 Tuġlataqtuġuuq.
109 Migiqłiuraak uvaa silatimikni uguak inauraaŋuluksimaruk,
110 auŋa.natik.
111 Ułłagaiguuq.
112 Natkiigaaguuq uvvaa. Qiniġaak.
113 Qiniġaluaqłuuguuq uvvaa aŋayuuraisimakaaga taamna niviŋmiun itiqtuq imna,
114 "Ayuqłiq! Ayuqłiq!"[1]
115 Qauġna.ziŋuluksimaruġuuq.

1. "Ayuqłiq" means "mainland Alaskan Eskimo" in St. Lawrence Island Yupik.

¶ 93 He was far away from the village there!

94 When he reached shore
95 and disembarked from his kayak,
96 with a cry of victory, he took his knife
97 and slashed his kayak skin.[4]

98 When he had slashed it up,
99 he threw it all into the water,
100 that kayak of his.
101 He took only his gear.

102 He wondered which way he would go.
103 It turned out that he went directly across the middle of the point.
104 He went to our hosts-to-be, as it happened, to the camp of Aqaaġuq's family,
105 to their ancestors' camp.
106 These are the ones we stayed with a while back.[5]
107 He said he had gone straight down to where those people were.

108 He was just about to reach there, he said,
109 when he came upon two little children playing outside their house,
110 not going anywhere.
111 He went up to them.
112 They noticed him there. They saw him.
113 After looking at him a little, the older of the two went inside, calling out in a loud voice,
114 "Mainlander! Mainlander!"
115 As small as he was, he understood.

4. According to Margaret Seeganna, he probably decided to get rid of his kayak in case he encountered unfriendly people who wanted to put him out to sea again.
5. Mary Muktoyuk visited Gambell.

¶ 116 Aŋayuġaaguuq aniruk.
117 Inuŋniiġnituaguuq tavra,
118 aŋayuġaaġizimagaagik.
119 Naagaguuq uvaa nuliagaan uuma aviġizimaaa,
120 nagin tauq niuŋaaluktuagumakŋaan.
121 Ugiuvaŋminuuq piniruq.

122 Tavraŋa'aa itiqtilugu.

123 Azitnatunuuq tavra munaġiŋilaak.
124 Naqmuŋauraġaaqłuniguuq utiġniami iŋminik unniin kamilazuilaq.

125 Tavra tukkaniġluata.niġum, suna'ua sapkua taimana issimak'amik,
126 taimaŋa aglaan.

127 Samma puuyuminaitkaat tauq sapkua taimaŋa aglaan—
128 kiami qaa uuma—
129 Pikkuŋan avak'ayaqtaaga, Avauraq,
130 Tiiguumuuq aaŋaaga.
131 Aakaagan piksruma aaŋaagaguuq, Avauraq.
132 Taavrumuŋa ugua ilaturut satapkunikŋa,
133 taivrumikŋa ilaturut.

¶ 116 His parents came out.
117 They seemed very friendly,
118 the parents of those two.
119 It happened then that the man's wife asked him
120 from what place he had been carried away.
121 He said he came from King Island.

122 At that point, they let him go inside.

123 They took very good care of him.
124 When he returned after going someplace, he didn't even have to remove his mukluks by himself.

125 They were very good hosts and have always been that way,
126 from way back then.

127 Those people could never forget him, from that time on—
128 who is that, now?—
129 that would have been Pikkuŋana's grandfather Avauraq,
130 Tiiguk's father.
131 Aloysius Pikonganna's mother's father, Avauraq.
132 Since that time, they have had many friends among the St. Lawrence Islanders;
133 because of that man long ago, they have many friends.

*ABOVE: Bernard Kasgnoc returns from a hunt, wearing a white hunting parka, sealskin mitts, and mukluks. Around his neck is a coil of line made of yearling ugruk hide. He holds a toggle-head harpoon, which also serves as a spear.*

*LEFT: King Island.*
*BELOW: An unidentified man approaches land in a kayak.*

# Atiqtat

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on October 12, 1983.*

Siġna.miugunaptiŋni,
Ugiuvaŋmiut atiqsimagait.
Atiqtausimarut.
Aġnazuŋaaġlu,
Utuanalu,
Niiłaaġlu...
Avaura.lu, Pikkuŋan avauraaga.

Atiqtausimarut.
Sammaguuq uggaŋa Ayaasaram saanun
ilisimavaliagait Ugiuvaŋmin.
Ayaasaram saanun satamuŋa,
*Cape Nome* saanun satamuŋasaq.
Satamaŋainaq'aa agralutik,
siguŋaiqtaaga naguatun manna.
Ayaamun tatkiauŋa agralutik,
Siġna.miugunaptiŋni.

Ayaaġmiut'aa qiniġaluaqsimagait,
Ayaami ittuat.
Unaliunazualuiruuq uvaakaŋilait.
Unalit atiqtauruat inuaqsaupmata.

Tara taamna uiniq marraa

# The Men Who Drifted Away on the Ice

*Frank Ellanna*

While we were still at the Sinuk River,[1]
some King Islanders were carried out to sea on the ice.
They were adrift on an ice floe.
Aġnazuŋaaq,
Utuana,
Niiłaaq...
and Avauraq, Aloysius Pikonganna's grandfather.

They were all adrift on an ice floe.
They ended up out at sea off Cape Nome—
they were probably carried that far from King Island.
Off Cape Nome, very far out, they ended up,
very far offshore from Cape Nome.
From out at sea there, they went westward,
and the ice had stopped forming.
Toward Sledge Island they traveled westward,
while we were wintering at Sinuk River.

The Sledge Islanders are said to have sighted them,
the people who were on Sledge Island.
They thought they were Unaliq Yupiks and did not go to meet them.
Unaliqs who were adrift were said to be murderous.

Then there was an open lead,

1. Many King Islanders used to spend the winter at the mouth of the Sinuk River along the coast west of Nome.

22 siguŋuyuura.zimagaaga.
23 Niiłaaq nugatpiaġaaq,
24 Iviŋam, Saġnaaŋam nuliaġaluagan qituġnaa—
25 qiniġia atausiaqłuu naguatun.

26 Aliġmik naviqłuu paamagtisimagaat,
27 iluqnaułuuraq manna siguałuuraq.
28 Tulakłuniguuq.
29 Taimana iliuqłuit ammuglugit ilatik.
30 Kiŋuliġuuq taamna Utuana uġumaituaq,
31 aulaatiura.zina.luni imiguruq.
32 Siguułuuraġuuq tavra siikłuu amugaat.
33 Qagipłutik Ayaakun.

34 Aaŋaa, Paġuatkut iŋiani Uqpiktuliŋmi ugiiruat,
35 aisimagait. Avauraġa taimna Aġnazuŋaaq ilagizimamaruŋ.
36 Ayausimagaluaqtuq illugluatam, Aġnazuŋaaq.
37 Uniaġa.luni aisimagait,
38 tatkiauŋautalugit'aa mayuiyuutaluit.

39 Niiłaaq taamna nugatpiaġaaq,
40 kiuani Sitaisa.miuni,
41 Wiivamik pigaagat naluaġmiu migiqłinik munaqsriruaq.
42 Niiłaaq taamna Ugiuvaġusimaitkaa kiŋuagun.
43 Kalivitiłuu tatqauŋa Qayara.miunun,
44 Ugiuvaŋmiugaluaq Niiłaaq.
45 Qayara.miuġaluni'aa tatqamani.

open water with thin, new ice on it.
Niiłaaq, a young man,
the son of Iviŋaq, Saġnaaŋa's first wife—
I saw him clearly only once.

They tied a walrus rawhide thong around him and had him crawl
over a very thin pan of ice.
He made it across safely.
In that way, they all pulled one another across.
That last one, Utuana, it is said, was very heavy,
and just as he started across, he broke through.
By cutting through the thin ice, they pulled him out.
They all came ashore at Sledge Island.

My grandfather, who was over at Uqpiktulik with Paġuaq's family spending the winter,
went to get them. My dear old grandfather Aġnazuŋaaq was among them.
He had gone blind from severe snow blindness, Aġnazuŋaaq.
He went to get them with a dog team
and took them westward up the coast.

The young man, Niiłaaq,
out at Station[2] —
"Weaver" is what they called the white man who took care of the children there—
he asked Niiłaaq not to go back to King Island.
He had Niiłaaq stay permanently, inland there among the Qawiaraq people,
even though he was a King Islander.
He became one of the Qawiaraq people, inland there.

2. A place near the present-day village of Brevig Mission.

*ABOVE: Rock pinnacles can be seen atop King Island. The village is in the center of the photo, and Qaitquq, the cold storage cave, is to the right of the village.*

*RIGHT: Young men would sometimes climb the pinnacles.*

*ABOVE: A young man reaches for two murre eggs on a rock ledge high above the Bering Sea.*

# Paułuŋniaqtuak Nuliaġiik

*Iilan Unipkaaga*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

Nuliaġiik taapkuak ugiaġmi.
Paułuŋniaqsimara.tut
qakma nunam agruanin,
Putum agruanin,
ipnamin.
Ipnaaġigvaktuq.
Ataa tagana naguasaugaluaqtuq,
aġuiviġaġaluaqtuq.

Qulaa ipnaaŋavakłuni,
ataa aġuiviġaqłuni tauna.
Paułuit siniksimara.tut,
quŋusavaaġuuratik maŋukłuit izaġumiknun.

Ugiaġmi'aa tani qailavakmauŋ niiqpa.vakmauŋ,
tuiġak mayuaqłutik,
tatqauŋa.lutik unnuami.

Sinikmata'aa,
qawaqsimik, qiliqłuu qawaqsiq.
Uuŋa imupłuu iŋminun tuiġam,
iŋminik niŋisimara.tuq.
Tuiġam niŋitnau,

# The Cormorant Hunters

*Frank Ellanna*

There were a husband and wife, the two of them, one fall.
In those days, people used to go to get cormorants
from the northeast point of the island,
northeast of Putu,[1]
from the cliff there.
It is a very steep cliff.
The base of it is not bad, though;
it has a place where you can walk.

The top part is very steep,
and the base has a place that can be walked on.
The cormorants would sleep,
with their big long necks thrust under their wings.

In the fall, then, when the sea was rough and the north wind was blowing strong,
the two people climbed up,
up to the northeast point of the island at night.

While the birds were asleep,
the man tied a length of yearling walrus rope to himself.
A person would wind it around his own waist here,
and would lower himself down the face of the cliff.
Another person would not lower him,

1. Putu is a large cavity in the cliffs along the eastern shore of King Island.

21 qanuġuuq aktuġiałuu samma naalaŋnaqłiuqtuq.
22 Niŋisimara.tuq iŋminik, kamilaruqłuni.

23 Paułuit'aa magua siniktuat tigitnamigit,
24 naġiłuu, quŋusiq samna tavutalugu,
25 tugiqsa.man'aa nuġiłuu.

26 Tuġusinaġaina.lugu paułuŋniaqsimara.tut.
27 Qulinŋamataguuq uġumaitpaktut mayuutnazuaqtuni.
28 Unnuamun aglaan pinasuaqłutik taipkua.

29 Nuliaġiik ipna.zimaruk.

30 Taima nulii paitilugu,
31 uiya atqa.zimaruq.

32 Atqa.tuaq!
33 Qailavakmiuq uvva nunam ataa unna.

34 Irisimaruq.

35 Iritnami,
36 qawaqsiq tamana qugriaqłuu.
37 Imatnaa iliuqtilugu qawaqsiq,
38 qugriaqłuu aulaiqtuq.

39 Qugriaqłuni, quŋmun aularuq.
40 Mayuqtuq.

41 Anuġimlu igayuuŋnaaa, anuqłavaktuq.
42 Mayuqtuq qugriaqłuni,
43 silakun tamauna,
44 Qulaġuq ukkaa,
45 Putum napaŋaruaqpaa,

because if the rope rubbed it could be heard by the birds.
He would lower himself, after removing his mukluks.

When he reached those sleeping cormorants,
he pressed down on one, along its neck,
and when it began to kick, he yanked it out.

Killing them one after another, this is how they hunted cormorants.
When there are ten of them, they are very heavy, when a person tries to climb back up with them.
They hunted even at night, those people of long ago.

The husband and wife went to the cliffs.

Then, leaving his wife behind,
the husband went down.

He went down!
The sea was very rough down there, at the foot of the land.

He fell.

When he fell,
he began to whirl the walrus hide rope around in the air.
Making the rope go around like this,
whirling it around, he came to a stop.

By whirling it around, he began to move upward.
He went upward.

Perhaps the wind helped him, for it was very windy.
He went up, whirling his rope around,
through the air,
over toward Qulaġuq,
the pinnacle of rock that rises above the cavity Putu;

46 pikna qulaa, Qulaġuq.

47 Kaġġanun mittuq.
48 Satamaŋasaq ipnanin.
49 Mittuq tavruŋa, tuttuq.
50 Naŋiaġna.vaktuq Qulaġuq taamna.

51 Atqa.wiksraitnami,
52 qawaqsiq tamana qiliqłuu, qiliġviġaqman.
53 Atqa.tuq tamarumuuna akłunaakun.

54 Aipłuni'aa.

55 Aigaluaqtuq,
56 tuviġminun tavruŋa,
57 tutnami atiqtuq.

58 Itiqtuq.
59 Nuliagalu pikkaa, uiŋuranilu.
60 Nuliagan uuma aŋitalugu iruka.zimaaa uini.

61 Uiŋuranilu pikkaa nuliagalu.

62 Natkiaŋamigik naŋiqsinaqtuq.

63 Taamna qanuġitumiiqtuq,
64 anisugluni uiŋuraa.
65 Siutmun saałuni anisugaluaġa.tuq.
66 Kapyuaġiaa qaqma!
67 Utiġmun saałuni anisugaluaġa.tuq.
68 Kapyuaġiaa!

right above it is Qulaġuq.

He landed on the tip of it.
Coming up from the cliffs far down below.
He landed there and came to rest.
It is precarious and dangerous, that Qulaġuq.

When he could find no way down,
he attached that walrus hide rope, since there was a place to tie it.
He went down using that rope.

Then he went home.

He made it home suspecting nothing—
made it to his walrus-skin-covered house there;
when he arrived he started down toward the door.

He went in.
There was his wife up above, with her exchange husband.
This wife of his, by untying him, had caused her husband to fall.

Her exchange husband was up there, and his wife.

When he spotted the two of them, he just stood there.

The other man was unsure of what to do
and wished to go out, her exchange husband.
He thought about going out head first.[2]
He'd get stabbed by the one out there!
He thought about going out feet first.
He'd get stabbed!

2. King Island houses had a small, narrow door about three feet high which a person could not walk through upright. The bottom of the doorway was at about the level of a person's knees. See photo, p. 212.

¶ 69 Tavra pialuaqłuni,
70 qiwituq.
71 "Piliŋa uvvaa qagivruma."
72 Utiġmun saałuni, aniġlataura.tuq.
73 Qagun sayum tutta.lugu?

74 Tuttinani uvvaa, muġruktuq.
75 Magituq.
76 Tunułuni uvvaa naŋiqtuq.

77 Parramun atiq'ami aulaġiruq.

78 Sugginilaa nulii.
79 Ugiuġnin qizik katitkaa,
80 akłunaaq katitkaa,
81 qizik katitkaa.
82 Suzuunau nulii.

83 Uvaġnagraqmau salaqman,
84 Ugiuvaŋmiunik kiliktuipłuni,
85 mayuaġutigait.

86 Taiŋuŋa,
87 Naniura.nun,
88 Naniura.nun aggitigait.
89 Siukazuit kiluatnun tavruŋa
90 aulaiyutigait.

91 Qizik agvuaa,
92 akłunaaq kipłuaak nuliaġiik,
93 auqutigiaak Ugiuvaŋmiunun.
94 Piłłiamik aġġiaqsirut.

¶ 69 Then, after thinking it over,
70 he gave up.
71 "Well, let him get me, that one out there," he thought.
72 Feet first, he cautiously started out.
73 When would the knife strike him?

74 Without being struck, he got through the doorway.
75 He stood up.
76 With his back turned, the cormorant hunter just stood there.

77 The other man went down to the outer door and left.

78 The cormorant hunter did nothing to his wife.
79 All winter long, he gathered animal hides,
80 he gathered walrus rawhide rope,
81 he gathered hides.
82 He never showed any ill will toward his wife.

83 When spring came and the ground had thawed,
84 inviting all the King Islanders,
85 he led them up the island.

86 Over there,
87 to Naniurait,[3]
88 he took them to Naniurait.
89 Behind the outcroppings of rock known as Siukazuit,
90 he stopped with them.

91 He cut up the hides,
92 and the couple cut lengths of rope
93 and passed them out to the King Islanders.
94 When they were through, the people started to dance.

3. Naniurait is a flat rock on the east side of the crest of King Island. It is surrounded by rock on two sides and has a sheer drop on another side.

¶ 95 Izaaġaluaqłutik,
96 nulii mumiġminik ilaksiraaqtaliġaa.
97 Agiuŋilaa nuliagan.

98 Ilaksiraaqsinaġaluaqłuu mumini aziŋatiqman, sauyaminik.

99 Sauyani aziŋatiġaa nuliaminun.

100 Aziŋatiq'amiuŋ, izaaġaa.

101 Izaaqłuu tuġutkaa.

102 Tuġupman uyaġaŋnik miluġaa.

103 Nabliisinaqtaaminik uyaġaŋnik miluġaa.
104 Kiitaima samna aġnaq qiniġnaiqtuq,
105 miluqłuu.

106 Nuŋŋinamiuŋ qiniġnaiqman,
107 ayuumiun aqpatuq taganuŋa Naniura.nun.
108 Siukaziurat amma ataat imatnaa ittuq.

109 Aqpaniġmini taganuŋa ayuumiun sitqinami,
110 nutiktuq taunuŋa.

111 Uyaġaguuq samma imatnaa ittuaq.
112 Kanakŋa tussimagaa.
113 Ablaaŋaami—
114 uyaġak taamna—
115 quvipłuni.
116 Quvisimaruġuuq aŋun.

117 Agiġlaaqłuni,

¶ After they had danced on and on,
he began to taunt and poke at his wife with his drumstick.
His wife did not respond.

He continued to taunt and poke at her, and when his drumstick broke, he used his drum.

He broke his drum on his wife.

When he had broken it, he began to beat her.

He beat her to death.

When she was dead, he threw rocks at her.

Whatever rocks he could manage, he threw at her.
Finally the woman could no longer be seen,
because the rocks he had thrown covered her.

When he had finished with her and she could no longer be seen,
with a cry of victory, he ran down to the sheer cliff at Naniurait.
Beneath those outcroppings of jagged rock, Siukazuit, there is a sheer drop, like this.

Running down with a cry of victory, when he reached the edge,
he leapt down.

There is said to be a rock there which comes to a point like this.
He landed on it between his legs.
With his legs spread—
that rock was there—
he was split in two.
The man is said to have been split in two.

Having taken revenge

118 imma iruka.titqaaqłuni, aksruaq,
119 iŋminik suli pizimaruq.

120 Piluata.zimailak tauq nuliaġiik taapkuak.[1]

1. Piłłiami, Iilan piruaq mitaaqłuni, "Siulamik taamna *helicopta*-tuamik piraġiiga, taimana iliuqtuaq."

for having been made to fall back then, he was avenged,
and then he took his own life.

It was a terrible thing they did, that couple, those two.[4]

4. Ellanna paused, his audience reacted with a murmur, and then he added, laughing, "I call that man the first helicopter pilot," referring to the way the cormorant hunter rose through the air by whirling his rope.

*ABOVE: A lone hunter stands among pressure ridges on the shore ice.*

*ABOVE: Three kayaks, with paddles, harpoons, landing hooks, and ugruk rawhide thongs, are strapped to sleds in preparation for an ugruk hunt. Note the ivory-shod sled runners. Inside the kayaks are bleached sealskin floats. In April, men would climb to a high vantage point and use binoculars to spot bearded seals basking on the ice.*

*LEFT: Without a dog, Vincent Payana cannot pull two entire seals back to the village, so he takes only the skin of the one in the foreground. In his left hand he carries a spear and in his right a tool to test the ice as he walks.*

# Tuuġna.yuuk Aŋuniaqtiik

*Iilan Quliapyua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

Taimanisaq tuuġna.yuit unniin aŋuniaqsimarut,
quliapyuit.

Mautuaksraġuuq una ublaaqpaŋmi.
Samma tuiġak uvvaa aŋiġla.tuk taatuak.
Taaqmiuq uvva.

Aipaaga ivyaktuq,
"Taima ubluminin puiviuraŋilaaŋa.
Qanuġuuq ublaaq aulauta.tuŋa iġaluŋmik amiġaktuumaan.
Taavrumakŋa puiŋilaaŋa!"

Aipaaga ivyaktuq, "Uaŋa tauq.
Ublaaq aulauta.tuŋa kauŋmik maunaktuumaan!"
Taavrumakŋaguuq puiŋilaa.

Aŋiġla.tuk ipkuak,
ubluatagamamiuq uvva.

Ałłak taapkuak qayyak,
qayaqtuata.tuak.
Qayyak marraa

# Two Spirits Out Hunting

*Frank Ellanna*

In ancient times, even the spirits went hunting,
according to the stories.

There was someone who was getting ready to go hunting out on the ice early one morning.
There he saw two people[1] returning from a hunt, coming up from the sea ice.
It was still dark.

One of them said,
"I didn't see anything come up all day
because this morning for breakfast I had a dried fish, skin and all.
That is why nothing surfaced for me!"[2]

The other one said, "Me too.
This morning for breakfast I had walrus skin, hair and all!"
That is why nothing surfaced for him.

Those two went home,
even though it was just getting light.

There was another pair of kayaks,
two people who were going out hunting in their kayaks.
They saw two kayaks there,

1. They were spirits.
2. Hunters were not supposed to eat or drink anything, except water, before they went out in the morning.

kalituak ugruŋmik.
Malikataġaik qayyak.

Taikuŋa nunam izuanun.
Aipani kiqsinaġaina.lugu izaaqtuk.
Aŋuġlataġaik.
Ilitaisuglugik uguak aŋunazuaġik.

Aŋuġlataqmatik patakpaglutik ipkuak,
kallitik aŋitalugu.
Aqma ipkanaqtuat saniagun Qugra.mun.
Qayyak ipkuak itiqtuk.
Pularuk nunamun,
ugruutiktik uniłuu.

Miksruurauqtuġuuq'aa taamna ugruk.
Uaya.zimaaik ugruŋmik.

towing a bearded seal.
They began to chase the two kayaks.

Over to Land's End they went,
each one telling his partner to hurry; they continued on.
They almost caught up to them.
They wanted to see if they could recognize them, and they tried to catch them.

When they had almost caught up to them, those two spirits in a great hurry
untied what they were towing.
On the east side of the island, they went in at Qugraq, alongside the jagged rocks there.
Those two kayaks went inside.
They went right into the earth,
leaving their ugruk behind.

And that ugruk, it is said, got smaller and smaller.
Those men took the ugruk from the two spirits.

# Aliuġna.tuak

## Hauntings

Certain locations on King Island are believed to be frequented by spirits, sometimes those of dead people who come back to haunt visitors to the area. Annie Pullock tells how, when out gathering greens, she and her companions were haunted by the ghost of an old woman known to bring about strange events. During the haunting, things become the opposite of what they are usually: the hard, beaten path becomes soft, mushy snow; the distant mountains and creeks at Cape Prince of Wales appear distinct and nearby; crossing a short distance to get out of the haunted place takes a long time.

# Qulianiit Aġnaġuksram[1]

*Ayukuum Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on May 11, 1983.*

Ugiuvaŋmi qaŋami quliapyuaqtut.
Aġnaġuksraaguuq uguak aula.tuak, nunam agruanun.
Saviġna.vaktut ipkua siuliut.

Aksragzimaruq.
Siguġniŋaruġuuq tavra.

Tavra uuma qiapyuaŋa.mi aipaagan malikataġaa.
Tiuġlataqpaanilu aksraaqtuq.

Taimanaguuq imna iliuqsinaġniani
suiŋaruamun pik'amik imna imaanun irituq.
Mulupłuniguuq kannaa, puiruq.
Iġaqtailaġuuq,
tavraguuq aglaan qipsrutait.
Sukłavait uvva.

Taimaguuq taimana qiniġniaa taavruma.

Tavra aliuġizimaraġiaat imma, qaŋa imma tuiġat.
Aŋutnunaiyaaniguuq qanuġuuq nuŋutkait.

Tavra niaqsiaġaaqłuŋa Pikkuŋan pigruma suupainiaġiaaŋa,

1. Following the end of the story, Annie Pullock retold the beginning and made it more complete. This retold section has been added to the beginning of the story as it appears here.

# The Tale of the Old Woman

*Annie Pullock*

On King Island, long ago, they used to tell a story.
Two old women, it is said, went out to pick greens, at the northeast point of the island.
They were very strong, our ancestors of long ago.

One of the old women fell and rolled down a slope.
It is said that she had her eyes closed.

Then, almost in tears, her companion tried to catch up with her.
She would almost grab her, but the other woman kept rolling.

While she was rolling down like that,
they came to a very steep drop-off and she fell into the water.
After staying underwater a long time, she came to the surface.
It is said that she had no clothes on,
only her beaded hair ornaments.
Only her long, thick hair was visible.

The other woman said that is how she saw her.

She haunted people from that time on.
All of her brothers, it is said, she somehow did away with.

When I was becoming a young woman, Aloysius Pikonganna, who lives up there, used to buy me shoepacs;

18 tagisaaŋnik'aa suupainiksimaaŋa.
19 Iilanalu Amailutaġlu Inuktuyuuġlu uaŋalu.
20 Amailutam piaaŋa iŋuġiniaġuktuguruuq.
21 Iŋuġiaqłuta'aa mayuaqłuta.

22 Iirayak'aa taapkuak killiŋagun aŋautnapta,
23 atqa.luta iŋuġiniaġazuaqtuut magunaŋa taŋiqłataaptiŋnik niġik'apta.
24 Tavra'aa miksruuraupłutik magua tamatkua iŋuqit.

25 Naŋiaqsuinamnitauq.
26 Naŋiaqsuitkaluaqtuŋa tauq qaŋa imma naguatun piginamni.
27 Tavra igaaġna.tuamun igaaqłuŋa nainaktiqta.lugu manna qaiqtauruq qanuġuuq manna.
28 Iŋuġavaŋnik aktavaŋnik nalausiama,
29 Inuktuyuuq tuqłuaqłuu qizuqaaqłuit, iitaigiga.

30 Uvvaa natkiigaatiuk taavruma Amailutam.
31 Natkiaŋamitiuk qailuguuq niġitaguuq.
32 Unnuutaŋilaut qanuġuuq.

33 Qaitqumatiuk, taluqsra.lunuk taiŋuŋaqtuuk.
34 Amulaipłuta'aa niġiġlataqłuta,
35 amulaigaluaqtuut nuŋułuta, uluilaut.
36 Iwaqłatuguk tavra Inuktuyuuġlu uyaġauramik,
37 uqsrutuġugvaktuut qanuġuuq.
38 Uyaġauramik iwaqłaluta ivikpaktuamik uvvaa miksruura.vaŋmik paġisiruguk.

he bought me a higher pair of shoepacs this time.
There were Iilana, Amailutaq, Inuktuyuuq, and myself.[1]
Amailutaq said to me that we should go gather wild lettuce.
Going after wild lettuce, we climbed up the island.

Skirting the cliff Iirayak, going around it
and going down, we tried to gather wild lettuce, which we eat with our meat.
They were small, those wild lettuce greens.

This was when I was not afraid of heights.
I was not afraid of heights back then, when I was strong and able.
Then, where it was possible to cross, I crossed over, hanging onto the rocks, for it was a sheer cliff.
When I spotted some big wild lettuce greens,
I would call to Inuktuyuuq as I pulled them up, and then I would throw them to her.

Then Amailutaq spotted the two of us.
When she spotted us, she asked us to come over, saying, "Let's eat."
For we had not eaten dinner.

When she asked us to come over, out of respect we went over to where she was.
Taking out what we had brought, getting ready to eat,
although we had taken everything out, we had no ulu.[2]
We looked around then, Inuktuyuuq and I, for a small piece of rock,
since we wanted very much to eat blubber.
Looking for a small piece of rock, a very sharp one, it was a very small one that we found.

1. Four women.
2. An Eskimo woman's knife with a semi-circular blade.

39 Taamna ulugalugu niġinazuaqtuut.

40 Niġiŋaiq'apta, Amailtuam piaatiut,
41 sammaguuq suli Pauminani piqaaluaġa.tuq.
42 Sigum qaagun tamauna taavuŋaqtuut.
43 Taavuŋaq'apta mayuġaluaqtuut, miksruura.vaurut!

44 Sammaguuq suli iŋani.
45 Taavuŋaqtuut Kiłitanunuuq.
46 Aakaa! Aniu taqtauluataniġum mayuġnailaq naguatun tavruŋa uyaġaŋnun.
47 Kiłitanunuuq ugunuŋa, mayuġazuaqtuut.

48 Auŋauminailaut tavrani.
49 Uvva ugua ilatka sutun taima qaunaiŋilaŋa,
50 uvva quyasugzina.tuŋa,
51 tiŋmiaqłaina.vakpagvakpagvakpagvauruq!
52 Kiŋigin uvva uaniziuraq.
53 Inuktuyuum piaaŋa,
54 "Atagumuuq imma!"

55 Naalaŋniuqłuta.
56 Naalagikut azitna.vaktun imma nipłatuq.
57 Samma paakŋa agiuġviigalaġaa.

58 Kiitaima qanituura.vauġataqtuq.
59 Kiŋmausruak kannaa sayuġuyuuk.

60 Inuktuyuuġmun tani iŋiaqunaŋa nutiksa.tuaŋa.

Using that as an ulu, we all ate as best we could.

When we finished eating, Amailutaq said to us
that there used to be some greens at Pauminaq too.
Walking over the surface of the ice, we went there.
When we got there, we climbed up, but the greens were so small!

She said there were more over at another place.
We went over to the place called Kiłitat.
Oh my! The snow was so hard that it was difficult to climb up to the rocks.
We attempted to climb up to the jagged rocks called Kiłitat.

We could go no farther from that point.
It was as if my companions weren't there: I was not aware of anything,
I was just happy;
there were very, very, very many birds!
Cape Prince of Wales appeared close by.[3]
Inuktuyuuq said to me,
"Listen to that distant sound."

We all listened.
We all heard it; it sounded like something evil in the distance.
Then from above, the sound echoed.

Finally, it seemed to be coming closer and closer.
Down below were two parakeet auklets, biting each other as they fought.

Not wanting Inuktuyuuq to get ahead of me, I began to leap.

3. Although it is actually about fifty miles across the water from King Island, Cape Prince of Wales is said to appear clearly and seem very close by during a haunting.

61 Mauruŋa tamauŋa.
62 Imma akkuni mayuġuminailaut.

63 Yaŋaksinaġnamni nauŋ, samma.

64 Imma taapkuak satuutiivuk, tigisuminait'aptigik.
65 Siitquuk unniin maugulaqtuk.
66 Mayuq'amnuk qanituura.vaŋmin samma nipłatuq iqsinaqpagluni.

67 Suna'ua aliuġuktuani.

68 Amailutam uvvaa uuma—naluruut—
69 piaatiut aŋaayuuraġaqtaguuq.
70 Aŋaayurugut.
71 Imma umisigluni naalaŋnaqtuq.
72 Tiŋmirat tavra agulaatni paułuŋmik qiniqtuŋa maġluuŋnik niaquġaqtuamik.

73 Aaakaa! Tiŋmiaqłainavakpagvakpagvauruq!
74 Kina'aa Kiŋiktim kuuit unniin qiniġna.vat.
75 Taimanaguuq aliuġuaqtuq.
76 Taimanaguuq taimna pilaqtuq.

77 Tavra'aa imauraq kannaa tiŋmiramik qiviqa.tuq.
78 Qanuġuuq manna imatnaa iglazina.nit'ami tiŋmiaq iglatuq.
79 Aaakaa! Taimana tavra tiŋmiramik pitiksruamik qiniqtuaqtuŋa.

80 Tavra'aa imna, aŋaayuuravasuapta umisigluni imma.

I sank in up to here.[4]
A little while earlier, we had hardly been able to climb up.[5]

While I was trying hard to get out, the sound came again.

Then we gave up on getting those two birds, since we could not reach them.
We would sink in all the way up to our knees.
As we climbed up, from very near by it sounded, and it was very frightening.

We did not realize that we were being haunted.

Amailutaq, this one—we did not know what was happening—
said to us, "Let's say a little prayer."
We prayed.
From a distance the sound could be heard faintly.
And then among the birds I saw a cormorant with two heads.

Oh my! There were so very, very many birds!
It is true that even the creeks at Wales could be seen.
They say that is how she haunted people.
They say that is the way she did it.

Down below there was a pool of water blanketed with birds.
Birds were just flying all around, many birds were flying in every direction.
Oh my! Never before had I seen so many birds at one time.

Then, when we had said a little prayer, we heard that sound again in the distance.

4. Annie Pullock pointed to her leg above the knee.
5. Hard-packed snow had made it difficult to climb, but the snow was now soft.

81 Pipman, nivaiqtuaqman.
82 Amailutam piaatiut, "Atakiguuq ainazuaqta."
83 Quliutiŋilaatiut uuma.

84 Atqaasuaġaluaqtuut.
85 Atqa.niġmik aqtatugut.
86 Sigruikut manna aniu qayaqayaaqłuta kizian.
87 Tavra aġituŋuura.vauluata.niġum.

88 Taunuŋa sigumun pik'apta,
89 marraa tumit Pituqinik taiyataagit taqtauqpaktaqtaagit.
90 Tamatkunuunaaqsaapta satamuŋa ipkuak niuk piraqtuk.
91 Iunauranun tavra nutikta.luta igliasuaqtuut.

92 Piuminaiq'apta Amailutam una siuvaġupmani,
93 Iilana siuva.man ayuuraaluaġa.tugut.
94 Saviġiagutaŋan,
95 nalliġuk Inuktuyuuq.
96 Naaga tavra kiŋuliutquaaŋa Inuktuyuum suna'ua tavra una iqsim.

97 Iqsinaqpaktuq qanuġuuq taamna nipłiraqtuaq.
98 Palauvalaaġa.tugut, auŋauminaita.tugut.
99 Tavra kizian Amailutaq siuva.man nuuguraġa.tugut.

100 Tagisa.vaŋmik samma igaaġazuaġigut aliuġuikut suna'ua.
101 Qaguutaima uvvaa igaaqtuaq'apta Pituqinik magua taiyataaginik tamauŋa tutigaluaqtuut.

When the noise finally died away,
Amailutaq said to us, "Now, let us try to go home."
She did not tell us anything about it.

We started down.
Going down was difficult.
The only way was to cut through the snow by scooting along in a sitting position.
For the snow was extremely soft.

When we reached the ice down below,
there was the path they call Pituqit, where the snow becomes very hard-packed from people's walking.
When we tried to walk along that path, both legs would sink in.
We tried to move along, then, by jumping from one little ice pile to another.

When we could go no farther, Amailutaq asked Iilana to lead,
for when Iilana took the lead, we would move ahead better than we did before.
When it became too difficult for her,
then it had to be one of us, Inuktuyuuq or me.
It turned out that Inuktuyuuq wanted me to be last because she was so afraid.

It was very frightening because something kept making that noise.
We moved more and more slowly; we could not move any farther ahead.
Only when Amailutaq led would we move along a little better.

It turned out that we spent a long time trying to cross the place of our haunting.
After what seemed a long, long time, when we finally passed that stretch of path they call Pituqit, we managed to gain a firm footing.

102 Imatnaa taqtautigrut. [Appaaya: Tavra qaaŋavisii?]
103 Ii'i. Qaaŋiikut samma suna'ua aliuġuikut!
104 Iglaluta aŋauɬuta...
105 aila.ziviura.tuŋa tauq.
106 Tununamun tigituaġaluaqtuut.
107 Tununami nauŋ tiŋmiaqɬaina.vaura.tuq?
108 Amitqaa magua tiŋmirat!
109 Tamatiun atali magua.
110 Muġnuiqsiuraġaaqɬuta tavrani, airuut.

111 Aik'apta uvvaa Pikkuŋan piaaŋa suiguuq tani aila.vakpik?
112 Iŋuġiniaġazuaqtuani mauga.vaŋnirugut.
113 Qulianjilaŋa.

114 Uvvaa imna iɬɬuta.
115 Qituina inniani.
116 Aguliit qaatni aniiyutigia, Qigiqtaq iŋna.
117 Uɬɬagaaŋa.
118 Aviġiaaŋa uvvaa,
119 iluaġanuuq ikparaaq aliuġugvita nipɬiraqtuamik naalagvita?
120 Aŋiġia.
121 Qanuġuuq taluqsra.tuŋa.

122 Iluaġanuuq suli paułuŋmik qiniqpik?
123 Aŋiġia.

124 Piaaŋa uvaa,

102 It was as hard as this.[6] [Gertrude Analoak: Then you were past it?]
103 Yes. We passed over what turned out to be the place where we were haunted!
104 Moving along, getting around it...
105 I got all wet too.
106 We finally arrived at the back of the island.
107 Remember how there used to be many birds at the back of the island?
108 How few birds there were now!
109 There were just a few here and there.
110 After resting a little while there, we went home.

111 When we got home, Pikkuŋana asked me what had happened to make me all wet.
112 Trying to pick wild lettuce, I told him, we had walked through some deep snow.
113 I did not tell him what had happened.

114 A little time passed.
115 Qituina was still alive then.
116 On top of Aguliit qagri, I was watching Qigiqtaq, who lives over there, while he played outside.
117 Qituina came over to me.
118 He asked me then
119 if it was true that a few days earlier we had been haunted and heard a voice calling.
120 I said yes...
121 because I held him in respect.

122 Was it true also what he had heard about my seeing a cormorant?
123 I said yes.

124 He said to me then

6. Annie Pullock tapped on the floor.

125 aniqtaguuq aŋaayulalalutiglu pirugut.
126 Atagumuuq taavruma qiniqtaama piġġuutnayaġaatiut.
127 Sunayaatiut taavruma.
128 Uaŋaguuq atagum qiniqtuaŋa piġlaaġayaġaaŋa.

129 Iqsinaqpaktuq.
130 Azitna.vauruq samma kiziura.ma naalaŋilaġa.
131 Imma naalaktaqtuat piiyataqtut ilait.
132 Ilaita samma maatnami naalaktaqtaaqtik quliaqsuisuŋnaġaat.
133 Tavra taamna kaŋŋituq, tavra.

125 that it was a good thing that people had learned to pray by the time it happened.
126 What I had seen would eventually have brought us disaster.
127 That one would have done something to us.
128 He said that since I saw it, I would have been the first victim.

129 It was very frightening.
130 It was something very evil, and I was not the only one to hear it.
131 The ones who heard it in the past are no longer living, some of them.
132 Even now, some who have heard it just do not tell about it.
133 That one is ended. That's all.

*ABOVE: Annie Pullock carries her baby girl, Bridget, on her back.*

*RIGHT: Thousands of birds nest on the northeast side of King Island.*

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*LEFT: Sakkana was paralyzed on her left side, but she was still able to climb the island to pick greens.*

*ABOVE: Inuktuyuuq wears a kind of knit cap that was popular among the King Island women.*

# Kavitaktaqtuaq Uyaġak

*Ullaaqham Quliapyuŋnikua*

*Recorded by Margaret Seeganna on February 1, 1983.*

Nalugia.[1]
Aula.tuaŋa kiziurama,
kuum agianun.
Kavitaktaqtuamik uumaŋa naalagzuilaŋa,
siyuani.

Taaguŋaqtuŋa qiqłaitpagluŋa uvva.
Kuuk igaaqłuu mayuġataaġugluŋa, imiqtawiptiŋnun,
imiqtawipta saagun.
Tutnama mayuq'ataaqtuŋa quyaniuqpaktuŋa, mukkaaġutik uvva maġluuk,
immigaaksraaka uyamiutaunaŋa tavruŋa,
nunivagzina.tuŋa taapkuŋnuŋa.
Aipaaga immiiga
qatqilataaluŋalu.
Piruŋa, "Aipaaga taamna,
takpaŋna aŋautkuvgu kuuk.
Atqautiglugu immiumaiga."

Uyaġagvak piŋŋaa, imatna ittuaq.
Taamna tuġlataqłuulu,
tiŋitavaktuŋa!
Silagigvakmiuq uvva.

1. Clara Sirloak began speaking before the tape recorder was turned on. Line 1 contains only the last word of her first sentence.

# The Rattling Rock

*Clara Sirloak*

I knew nothing about it.
I was out picking greens all by myself
on the east side of the creek.
I hadn't heard that rattling sound
ever before.

I went over that way, feeling excited about going to pick greens.
Crossing the creek, I climbed up slowly, over to our water hole,
crossing in front of our water hole.
When I reached the other side, I climbed up slowly, feeling glad
and carrying two flour sacks
that I was planning to fill; since I did not have a greens bag,[1]
I just picked greens into those flour sacks.
I filled one of them
by the time I was ready to start down.
I said to myself, "The other one
is for when I cross the creek up there.
I can fill it as I go down."

There is a big rock up there, shaped like this.
When I was almost up to it,
a big gust of wind came upon me out of nowhere!
Even though the sky was perfectly clear.

1. Women wore bags, often made of an ugruk stomach, around their necks when they went to pick berries or greens. They would carry their harvest in the bags. See photo, p. 208.

¶ 21 "Suik sulii?"
22 Uvva imna ałłagiaŋa.vaktuatun izaaqtuaq.
23 "Suuva suli?
24 Kauktut qaaŋ? Sanaq'iaqtaliqłutiglu,
25 sanaġiruaksrat."
26 Uuqsraun inilautigraġniaqtaaġa.

27 Laġlaazitpaktuq ałłagiaŋa.vaktuamik.
28 Qaunaiŋilaŋa.
29 Qaaŋatuq imna tiŋitavaktuaq.
30 Izumaaluktuŋa, kaukpaliarut apkua,
31 inini ittuat.
32 Aŋaut'avgu,
33 taukaŋa igluanin taamna immiġaaqłuu, atqa.luŋa.

34 Atqaama, kuukun tamauna atqa.tuŋa.
35 Sannanaqsiama sannatuŋa.
36 Avatnaaya uniłuu.
37 Piika, aakagalu tuqsilataani niġisimaruak,
38 "Samma uuqsraun inilagiga,
39 inilautigraġniaqtaaġa.
40 Piġuġumagin samna, Aak."
41 Aŋiġaaŋa.

42 Niġisimaruak.
43 Kamila.zina.luŋa, kirra.vaktuŋa suli.
44 Niglauraama niġiruŋa.
45 Piika, "Akkuni suruŋa taima."

¶ 21 "What is happening to me?"
22 Then I heard something very strange, a pounding noise.
23 "Now what could that be?" I wondered.
24 "Are they hammering? It's almost time for the boats to cross over to the mainland;
25 they are preparing to go across."
26 I had gone out to fill my barrel with some special greens.

27 It was rattling quite loudly with a very strange noise.
28 I paid no attention.
29 The big gust of wind had already passed.
30 I thought to myself that they must have been hammering down there,
31 the people in the village.
32 When I had crossed the creek,
33 I filled my bag with greens from that side and started down.

34 I went down following the creek.
35 When I reached the path which runs along the slope, I followed it home.
36 I had left my daughter Avatnaaya at home.
37 I said to my mother and uncle, who were in the arctic entryway eating,
38 "I have filled the barrel,
39 the one I intended to fill when I went out picking greens.
40 Go ahead and put a rock on it, Mother."[2]
41 She said she would.

42 The two of them were eating.
43 I had taken off my mukluks, and I was sweating a great deal.
44 When I had cooled off, I ate.
45 I said to them, "Something happened to me a while ago."

2. To preserve wild sorrel, King Islanders mix it with other greens and some oil and place it in a barrel, covering it with a rock to weight it down.

Aŋaa aviġizaġaaŋa, "Suin?"
"Silagigvakmiuq uvva tavruuŋainaq anuqłavaktuŋa."
"Sumik naalagvin?"
"Laġlaaziaġruura.tuamik...[igla.tuq]
laġlaaziaġruura.tuamik naalaktuŋa ałłagiaŋa.vaktuamik."
Aŋaa piyaaŋa,
"Ulla.mi nalurut."
"Suik?"
"Kavitaktaqtaagatin nalurutin."
Qanuġuuq naalaktuaqtuŋa.
Iqsiŋilaŋa.
Suna'ua kavitagzaqtaagaŋa.
Laġlaaziaġruura.tuq,
imiitpaktuamik.

Taima aliuġuktaaġa.
Nunamun aġuik'ama aliuġugzuilaŋa.

My uncle asked me, "What happened to you?"
"Even though the weather was perfectly clear, all of a sudden I felt a strong wind."
"What did you hear?"
"A strange rattling sound...[laughs]
I heard a strange rattling sound different from anything I had ever heard before."
My uncle said to me,
"Ullaq, you are so unsuspecting."
"What did I do?"
"That rock rattled at you, and you didn't realize it."
That was because that was the first time I had heard it.
I didn't feel afraid.
It turned out that I had been rattled at by that rock.
It made a very strange rattling sound,
a hollow, dull sound.

That was the only time I was haunted.
When I have walked up the island looking for greens, I have never since been haunted like that.

*ANNIE QATTAQ. Wearing a greens bag around her neck, Annie picks anemone flowers* (quiktat) *which are stored in water where they will ferment and sour. In the winter the flowers are pounded to a fine powder, mixed with reindeer fat and ugruk or walrus oil, then eaten.*

*THERESA SEBWENNA. Theresa, Annie Qattaq's daughter, picks anemones atop King Island with her daughter, Rosa. The flowers grow abundantly in the spring and are at their peak for about two weeks.*



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# Aniruaksraak

## Childbirth

Frank Ellanna tells two stories with humorous elements about pregnancy and childbirth. The first describes how, when a mother was experiencing prolonged labor, people would encourage her baby to be born by calling to it. The second story is an old one also known on the mainland. It describes the experience of an unborn baby in the womb.

# Aniruaksraq Piaqłitaaqtuaq

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

1 Taimanisaq, iġnizuktuaq una aġnaq.
2 Piaqłitaaqman, qilamik iġnanitman,
3 tatqamuŋa siŋaiya qaġnutisimaaqsimaraigaat,
4 anitqublugu aasiin, unisuŋnipłuu.
5 "Anniin aasiin, unisugiptigin sanaqłiuktuut!"
6 Sanaqłiuŋniblutik uniłiuġniblugu anitquraġiaat,
7 migiqłiq qamna.

8 Iłłuni uvvaa imna iłłuni,
9 imma qaniqtuamik naalaktalatuq,
10 "Aasin anniin! Unisugiptigin sanaqłiuktuut!
11 Sanaq'uktugut. Unisugiptigin, anniin aasin!"

12 Uvvaa imna silani nalugaa.
13 Anisimaruq.
14 Taavrumakŋaguuq, iġnizuktuat ilait taimana piaqłitaaqman,
15 taimana iliuqsimaraigait.
16 Nuŋuruq.

# Prolonged Childbirth

*Frank Ellanna*

Back a long time ago, there would be a woman in childbirth.
When her labor was prolonged, and she didn't give birth quickly,
they would keep talking to the unborn baby inside her,
telling it to be born then, saying they would leave it behind.
"Be born now! We will leave you behind, for we are packing and preparing to cross to the mainland!"
Saying that they were preparing to go across and would leave it behind, they would tell it to come out and be born,
the baby inside.

When that baby stayed and stayed a long time,
from far away he would begin to hear someone talking.
"Come out now! We will leave you behind, for we are preparing to cross to the mainland!
We are crossing to the mainland. We will have to leave you behind, so come out and be born!"

And there was that baby, with no knowledge of where he was.
He had been born.
For this reason, it is said, when some women experienced prolonged labor,
they would keep talking to the baby.
That's all.

*CLARA PIKONGANNA. Clara and her daughter are in a typical doorway of a skin-covered King Island house. To the left of the door is a skin bag that was carried as a backpack. The little girls in front of the house hid their faces when the photographer appeared.*



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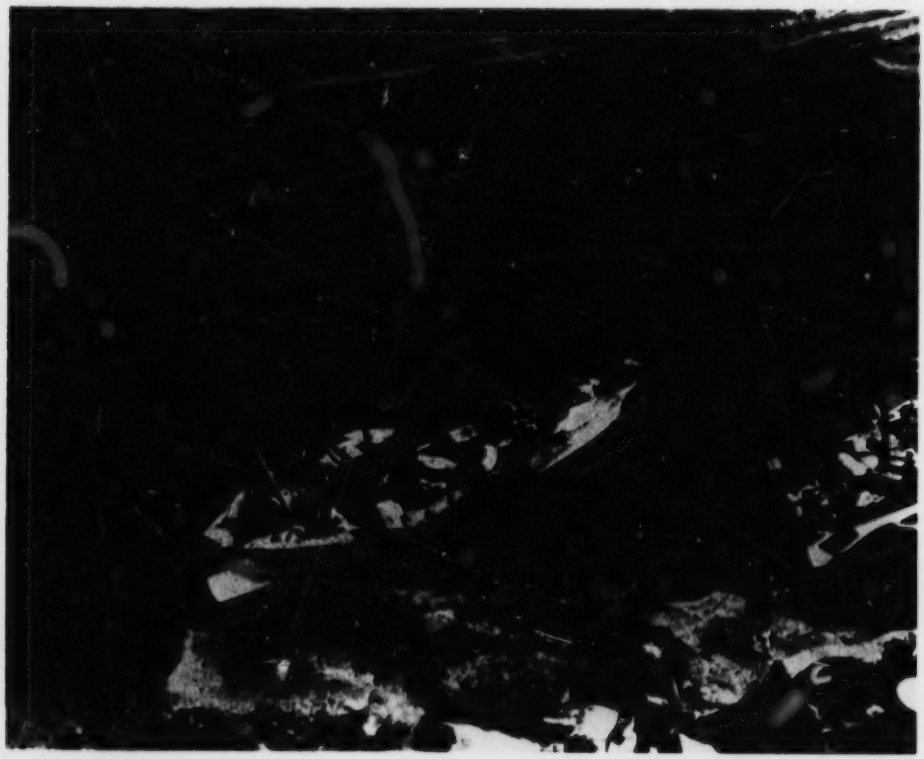


*TRIP PREPARATIONS. Men prepare boats for the King Islanders' annual summer crossing to the mainland.*

# Ilumiutat

*Iilan Quliaġnigua*

*Recorded by Gertrude Analoak on December 9, 1983.*

Unipkaaguruq samma suli.
Agiliin ivruma avapsi—
Nutaani aġġiałuuraapta,
aŋnaniaqavagaigaatiut,
qanuġuuq unipkautavagaigaatiut Agiliin kassuapta.
Aniasuŋaiġa.tut.
Aniayaitamata unipkausraigait.
Uvvaa tani ilaatni aniasanitut.
Aġiaviniq imna, Maktuayam nuliaga,
illuigaa Agiliin.
Tiliuġaigaa Aġiav!nim.
Uvvaa tani tiliuqtiġaluaqłuni,
unipkautyuliġaa:

Tuwaaġuuq una inauŋuluurami, nabliuramini ittuq.
Kiziura.mi.
Kannaa paaqaaluaqtuq.
Iłłuni, ilaatni, tuwaaq kannaa nuira.tuq.
Taganani yuġaġa.tuq sayuqpaaqtuq.
Yuġaqpaġaluaqłuni, qugvaiqtainaami,
miġiaqpaġaaqłuni imna anira.tuq.

Suna'uaguuq una siŋaiq!

# Unborn Babies

*Frank Ellanna*

There is another old story.
Agiliina, your grandfather, back then—
while we were holding a dance in the Nutaat qagri,
many people would come to watch us
because Agiliina would tell us a lot of old stories when we were through.
They didn't want to leave.
When they did not leave right away, he would tell them stories.
It happened again one time that they would not leave.
Aġiaviniq, back then—Stanislaus Muktoyuk's wife—
was Agiliina's teasing cousin.
Aġiaviniq kept requesting things of him.
After she had been making requests for a while,
he decided to tell her a story:

This person, it is said, lived in a little house just big enough for him.
All by himself.
Down below him there was a doorway.
While he was in there, sometimes a person would appear below.
Down below, the person would dance, appearing through the entrance and doing motion dances.
After dancing hard, he would slow down,
then he would spill something and go out.

It turned out that this was an unborn baby!

*THERESA PENATAC. Theresa cares for, left to right, Martha Muktoyuk, Kalaġina, Mary Qutuŋazuk, and Agatha Qutuŋazuk.*

# Aŋatkut
## Shamans

Shamans were important members of Eskimo society before the coming of Christianity. They were considered to have special powers which allowed them to fly through the air over great distances, heal the sick, change themselves into animals, and perform other acts requiring abilities beyond those of the average person. Some shamans were feared, while others were considered helpful. Frank Ellanna and Aloysius Pikonganna tell about shamanic techniques: flying and seeing distant events by gazing into a tub of seawater. Frank also tells a group of related stories about the great mainland shaman Qaksraq and his murderer, Aɬɬuk, who fled and hid among the King Islanders but could not escape the revenge of the dead shaman.

Mary Alexander recorded these stories in Nome on January 3, 1983, when the Elders' Advisory Committee of the Eskimo Heritage Program met to look over old photographs of King Island. Members of the group commented and reacted to the stories as they listened, and this is reflected in the printed presentation of the stories.

# Ilima.niq

*Iilan Quliapyuŋnikua*

Iilana:

1 Aniiġuuvalakłuŋa uaŋa, qulianigraitpalaaqtuŋa.
2 Imatna ugiumi aniiġuuvalakłuŋa.

Pikkuŋana:

3 Uaŋa siniga.tuŋa.
4 Uiġnaliqsina'ama, quliapyuktuat, qagrimi issuuruaŋa sinik-
simara.tuŋa,
5 unikłuit.

Iilana:

6 Suli tamatkua ilimaataqtuat aŋatkut,
7 silakuaqtaliqaaqtuat,
8 naluaġmiut silakuaqsuiniatni.
9 Ilima.tuanik taiyataġait silakuaqtuat.

10 Ilima.tuaksraq una, qagrimi,
11 tulukausatuqsimaraigaat,
12 tulukausatuqtaaginik akłunaanik qiliqsrataagit.
13 Kanuunalu... talliglu pamuŋa qiliqsralugik.
14 Natiġmun'aa taganuŋa inna.tiłuu,
15 pigisuminaiqłuu qiliqsralugu.

16 Nassiaġruuk'aa takpauŋa.
17 Sanniġuyaaga ayaak,
18 aŋuusiwiŋmik taiyuaat, aŋuusiwik.
19 Itivilugik inuŋmun izaguminaiqłuik,

# Shamanic Flight

*Frank Ellanna*

Frank Ellanna:

Because I used to play outside so much, I do not have many stories to tell.
In the wintertime, I used to play outside a great deal.

Aloysius Pikonganna:

Myself, I would sleep.
Whenever I got sleepy while they were telling stories, I would stay in the qagri and fall asleep,
leaving the storytellers behind.

Frank Ellanna:

There were those shamans who made magical flights,
the very first people to fly through the air,
before white men began to fly.
*"Ilima.tuat"* they called those who could fly.

A person who was going to fly—in the qagri
they would tie him up,
tying him with skin rope so that he was thoroughly bound.
Below them, at their feet, they tied his arms up behind him.
They laid him on the floor,
tying him up so they were sure he could not move.

Then they hung up his sealskin breeches.
There were two posts supporting the roof and a cross beam
called "the paddle carving place."
They hung the breeches over there out of a person's reach;

itivilugik.
Izaġugraak,
silakuaqtuaksram uuma, ilima.tuaksram.

Qamiłutik'aa qagrimi taaqsa.vakłutik,
atuutaitnik taamna atuutalugu, maakŋa azinin,
inuit.
Samma atuutititkałuaqłuni,
samma irita.tuk naalaŋnaqłutik,
izaġugraak nassiaġruuk,
nalikaak.

Mulusuilaq samma.
Samma nauŋ tiŋmirat yukhha.zitpaaqtut—
naalaŋnaqpaaqtut qanituurauk'amik.
Samma naalaŋnaqpagluni yukhha.zita.tuq,
izaġualuik nassiaġruuk.

Qawaqsiq uvva tamana akłunaaq kaliksraa,
qimuksraa.
Qimuitnik taiyuait.

Taima tamaani pialuaq'ami—
iiyat aktuuŋilat,
marraa, iiyait magua—
iiyagun imna anira.tuq.

Taimna imna silakuaġa.tuq nauliġaa.

Tavra utiq'ami utiġna.zik'ami,
iiyagun itiq'ami,
samna naalaŋnaġa.tuq.
Qaura.tut.
Kannaa qiliqsratuumaraqtuq.

they hung them there.
These were to be his wings,
the one who was going to fly, the *"ilima.tuaq."*

Then they put the lights out in the qagri, making it entirely dark,
and they began to sing his songs for him from all around the floor,
the qagri members.
Then, after many songs were sung,
you could hear the sealskin breeches fall,
the sealskin breeches which would be his wings,
his pants.

It would not take long after that.
You know the sound of many birds flapping their wings at once—
they can be heard very loudly when they are close by.
Then he could be heard very clearly making a flapping sound,
using his sealskin breeches for wings.

He used a piece of walrus hide rope like the tail on a kite
as his dragline.
They called them their draglines.

When he had flown around there awhile—
the air vents in the houses weren't very big,
you know those air vents—
he went out through the air vent.

Then he would fly away in whatever direction he wanted.

Finally, when he returned, when it was time to return,
he would come in through the air vent
and could be heard as he did that.
They would light the lamps.
And there he would be on the floor, all tied up.

Pikkuŋana:
48 Nagin pinipłuni quliapyuaqtuq.

Iilana:
49 Quliapyuaqtuq nagin pinipłuni, sumik qiniġnibluni.

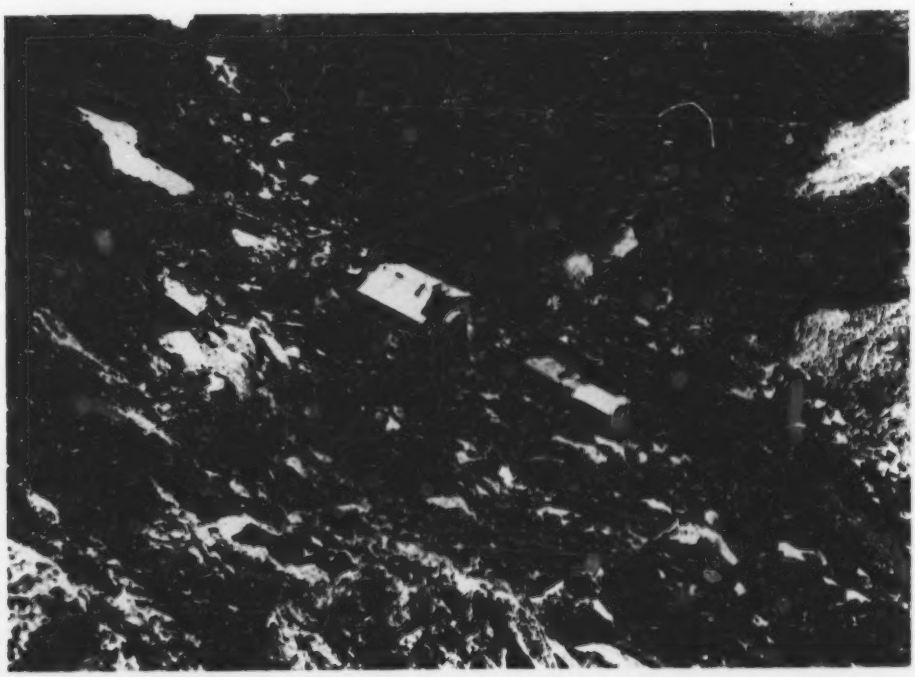
Aloysius Pikonganna:

48 He would tell about where he had come from.

Frank Ellanna:

49 He would tell about where he had come from and what he had seen.

*KING ISLAND FOG. The island is often shrouded in fog during the spring, April through June.*



*KING ISLAND VILLAGE. The appearance of the surface of the sea indicates that a north wind is blowing. The men used to climb to this vantage point above the village to scan the sea. In early spring they would look for bearded seals basking on the ice. Later they would try to spot walrus herds.*

# Issuaġa.niq

*Iilan Quliapyuŋnikua*

1 Suli tiiviit magua naluna.vakpagvakniatni, tiiviiqsimara.tut suli.
2 Uagut tiiviiniqtuamik taiyataġayaġigut issuaġa.tuaq.
3 Issuaġa.tuamik taiyuwait, tiiviiqtuaq aŋatkuq.

4 Puggutaq unaqsiq,
5 taġiumik immalugu,
6 atikmik puuqłuu;
7 tavruuna'aa nuiyaagaun,
8 qiniqłutik satamuŋa, tavruŋa.

9 Samma qulianiraqtut. Piŋiksraliq'amiguuq piraqtut,
10 saniva.tuanik ipkunuŋa umianik.

11 Uvvaa qulianiraġiait qiniġniblugit,
12 imatna inniblugit, tavruuna.
13 Qiniqsimaaġaigait.

14 Naguuniblugit quliaġa.tuq,
15 samma suġninipłuit.

16 Iyaġluna taimanaruaq. [Quqqachuuraq: Takkuŋni tarra?[1]]
17 Naumi, piinaptikni.

1. Quqqachuuraq (Job Kokochuruk) is from the Fish River area of the southeastern Seward Peninsula and speaks the Qawiaraq dialect of Inupiaq.

# Eskimo TV

*Frank Ellanna*

Long before television was known, in the old days they used to watch television also.
Nowadays, we would say that he is watching television, a person who gazes into something and watches images.
"One who gazes into something" is what they called a shaman who was "watching television."

A large wooden dish
would be filled with seawater
and a parka draped around it;
through the neck hole there,
they would look down.

Then they would tell about what they saw. They would do this when people were concerned about something,
such as boats that were crossing over to the mainland.

They say that the shamans would tell about them, saying they saw them
and telling how the people were, using that dish of water.
He would keep watching them in there.

He would say that the people were fine,
and that there was nothing wrong with them.

Iyaġluna did this once, gazing into the dish of seawater. [Job Kokochuruk: Was it while you were there?]
No, it was before our time.

¶ 18 Ivruma avaurapta, Aġnazuŋaam
19 qulianizuugait magua, tamatkua.

20 Qulianiruq uvva una issuaġa.tuaq,
21 tiiviiqtuaq.
22 Uagut tiiviiqtuamik quliaġayaġigut.

23 Umianik, taŋmauruanik;
24 agiaqaġuruq,
25 atagum qiniqaġupłuit.
26 Aŋatkuuŋilaq imna.

27 Savraami agiaġaluaġaa;
28 taaqpaktuq.
29 Sammaguuq aglaan qaumayuaqtiŋuyuura.tuaq kupsigvak,
30 qaumaŋuluura.tuaq.

31 Tavraguuq aglaan qiniqtaaga.
32 Sumiguuq qiniŋilaq, [igla.tut]
33 issuaġa.tuaq, tiiviiqtuaq.



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¶ 18 Our little grandfather back then, Aġnazuŋaaq,
19 used to tell of these things.

20 He would tell what he saw, the one gazing into the seawater,
21 the one watching television.
22 Now we would call it watching television.

23 There were skin boats pulled up on the beach;
24 he asked someone to take over,
25 and have a look at them.
26 The other man was not a shaman.

27 When he came forward, he took over from the shaman and had a look;
28 it was completely dark.
29 He said the only thing he saw was a tiny little sparkle of light, a very tiny one,
30 just a tiny bit of brightness.

31 That was all he saw.
32 He could see nothing else, [general laughter]
33 the one gazing into the dish of seawater, watching TV.

# Aŋatkuuk Paaqsalausruak

*Pikkuŋan Unipkaaga*

Pikkuŋana:

1 Aaguum magua quliaqtaagit,
2 ilimanik taiyuait taimana silakuaqta.tuat aŋatkuuniruat.
[Quqqachuuraq: Naalaktuaġuugitka tauq. Iilana: Naalaŋnaġuktaġigzi tauq uttuqanaanin tamatkua. Aɬɬat: Ilima.tuat.]

3 Ilaatni uvaa taimanaruaq tani una.
4 Uani ugua qitqani samma Qaluilani qagri ittuq.
5 Uani uagut qagriġut,
6 Imuuraum kiluuraani, Aguliit.
7 Taapkua[1] qagriit igani Nutaat.
8 Taimana magua tauq qagriit atiqa.tut.

9 Tavraŋa Qaluilanin, taimana.
10 Qagrim iluani, silakuaġaluaqɬuni,
11 aniġlataq'ami piait,
12 anisuŋnipɬuni.

13 Tavra anik'ami,
14 kaivrialuaq'ami Ugiuvaum qaani,
15 tatqamuŋa.
16 Suna'ua Utqiaġviŋmuinaq aulaġisimaruq.

1. Iilagut

# The Two Shamans Who Collided in Mid-Air

*Aloysius Pikonganna*

Aloysius Pikonganna:

There were other people told about in stories
whom they called *"ilimat,"* those people who flew through the air and called themselves shamans. [Job Kokochuruk: I used to hear about them myself. Frank Ellanna: You must have heard about them from the elders. Others: Flying shamans.]

One time, there was someone who flew like that.
Here [referring to a photograph], in the middle of the village, that's where the Qaluilat qagri is.
Right here is where we have our qagri,
and back up from Imuuraq, the big rock below the village, is where the Aguliit qagri is.
And their qagri, the Ellannas', is Nutaat over there.
These are the names of all the qagrit.

He came from the Qaluilat qagri there, flying like that.
After flying around for a while inside the qagri,
when he was ready to go out, he told the qagri members
that he was going out.

When he had gone out,
he circled above King Island
and headed north.
They later learned that he had started going toward Point Barrow.

17 Marraa qimuqani tunuani uani una
18 kaliqa.tuq.

Iilana:
19 Kaliqa.zimaraqtut qawaqsimik,
20 akłunaamik.

Pikkuŋana:
21 Tavra iglaluni ayuqpaŋnani,
22 Kiŋigin una unisinaqłuu,
23 samma siuqamini qiniqtuq sumik.

24 Qiniqtuaa.
25 Ałła marraa taimanaruaq paaġataqsimagaa. [igla.tut]
26 Tatqamakŋa tauq una piruaq;
27 Ugiuvaŋmilu una piruaq.
28 Paaġataqtuk.

29 Izumaaluktuq.
30 "Samma pizaqpaŋa tauq uuma, qanuq piliuqtuŋa." [igla.tut]

31 Tavra imna tussaamik.

32 Qilavizaqłuulu taavruma Ugiuvaŋmin piruam.
33 Ugiuvaŋmuinaq saġuruq,
34 siunani kivupłuu.
35 Samma pitaqa.tuq tamana qimua.
36 Ugiuvautiaa.
37 Nabliaŋamiuŋ Ugiuvautiaa.

There was his dragline right behind him, right here;
he had it trailing after him.

Frank Ellanna:
They had lines made of baby walrus hide which trailed behind them,
walrus rawhide rope.

Aloysius Pikonganna:
Then as he was traveling, before he had gone very far,
just as he was leaving Cape Prince of Wales behind,
he saw something in front of him.

He looked closely at it.
He was about to meet up with someone else who was flying just as he was. [laughter]
That other person was coming from up north;
this one was coming from King Island.
And they were about to meet.

He thought the situation over.
"If that one tries to do anything to me, I will somehow figure out something to do." [laughter]

Then it happened: they collided.

The one coming from King Island tried to tangle his dragline around the other.
Back toward King Island he turned,
giving up his original destination.
His dragline seemed to have something caught in it.
He took the other back with him to King Island.
Finding that he was able to handle him, he took him back to King Island.

¶ 38 Tavra Ugiuvaŋmun tutnami,
39 taapkunuŋa qagriminun, tuttuq.
40 Ałła samma tuttuq.
41 Maġluuk samma tuttuk.
42 Taaqmiuq uvva manna qagrim ilua.

43 Piait taavruma,
44 "Qagvutisi! Igitizi!"
45 Samma ałłam tuiġam kiuġma.viuraaa,
46 "Igitnazi! Igitnazi utiqauktuŋa."

47 Piait taavruma iniqtamagit:
48 "Kii igitnazi."
49 Iqsitaaġait.
50 Piyuminainŋa.migit.
51 "Igitnazi pipsugaŋilaaŋa uuma!"

52 Tavraŋa igitiait nannit.
53 Maġluuruk uguak tuiġak! [igla.tut]
54 Qiliqsratuumaruak taimana!
55 Ałłamik uvvaa qaġġirisimaruq tuiġamik.

56 Immaguuq taamna tatqaakŋa.miu,
57 uvaġna.magu kiziani umiatiun,
58 utqutigaat imna. [igla.tut]

¶ 38 When he reached King Island,
39 he landed with a thud in his own qagri.
40 The other one landed right after him.
41 The two of them could be heard landing.
42 It was dark at that time, inside the qagri.

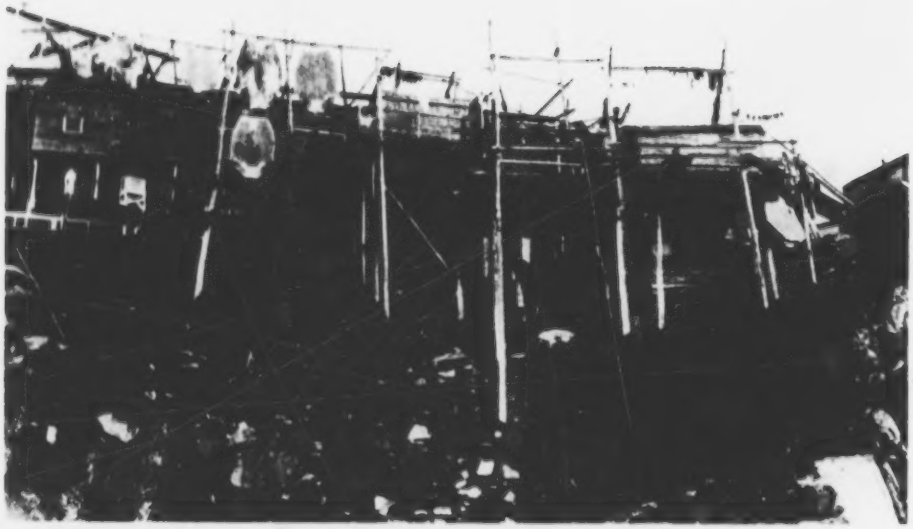
43 The King Island shaman said to the people,
44 "Wake up! Light the lamps!"
45 Another person could be heard answering him right away,
46 "Do not light the lamps! Do not light the lamps, for I want to return home."[1]

47 The King Islander told them not to do it:
48 "Do as he says. Do not light the lamps."
49 He was trying to scare them,
50 even though he was unsure whether they would obey him.
51 "Do not light the lamps, he cannot do me any harm!"

52 Right at that moment, they lit the lamps.
53 There were two people there! [laughter]
54 Both were tied up in the same way![2]
55 The King Islander had brought someone else back with him.

56 It is told of that shaman from up north,
57 that only when summer came—by skin boat—
58 did they take him home. [laughter]

1. A shaman's power to fly depends on absolute darkness. Once the lamps were lit, the shaman from the north would be unable to fly home.
2. Before they fly, shamans are carefully bound with ropes and laid on the floor of the qagri, as explained in the story "Shamanic Flight" in this section.



*KING ISLAND VILLAGE IN THE SPRING. Bearded seal hides dry on stretchers. At the right is a* siġluaq, *a rock-covered food storage cache.*

*ABOVE: An unidentified hunter returns after a successful hunt on the ice.*

*LEFT: An ice scoop, called* mitiŋiun, *was used to remove slush from fishing holes. This one is made of reindeer horn and interwoven baleen strips.*

# Aŋatkuq Inuktaq

*Iilan Quliapyua*

Ałłuk, Ałłuŋmik atiqa.tuam,
Ugiuvaŋmiuġatuam Qayara.mium.
Inuaqaaqłuni tatqawani,
Qaksra.mik atiqa.tuamik, Qaksra.mik,
qimauqsimaruq Ugiuvaŋmun,
aŋatkavaŋmik inuaqaaqłuni.

Atnuġaani ałłaŋuqtaluit,
aġna.tanik unniin siuġaliŋnik kamikłuni.
Piġaaluŋni ałłaŋuqtalugit,
iriqsa.zimaruq Ugiuvaŋmun.
Aŋatkavausimaruq tuġutaagak,
Qaksraq.

Manaqtuura.tuaq kuuŋmi tatqawani.
Maġluupłutik pitiksimagaak.
Sumik taima agviziqłuu, Qaksraq una.

Marraa qaġrut pulaarut qatigaakiŋnun,
tuġusuilaq.

Tuġuyaituami piaik,
tuġuyuminainibluni.
Qayuqaaġluni timini una uniłiuġniblugu,
inuułhaliuġniblugu.
Qayuuraġaaġugluni.

# The Murdered Shaman

*Frank Ellanna*

Ałłuk, he went by the name of Ałłuk,
a Qawiaraq man who became a King Islander.
There on the mainland, after murdering
a man named Qaksraq,
he fled to King Island,
after murdering a great shaman.

He made his clothing look different
and dressed like a woman, even wearing women's high, fancy mukluks.
Changing his clothing completely,
he tried to hide on King Island.
The man they killed was the great shaman
Qaksraq.

He was ice fishing in a river on the mainland.
There were two people who shot at him with bow and arrow.
For some reason they bore hostility toward Qaksraq.

Several arrows penetrated his chest,
but he did not die.

Unable to die for a long time, he said to his attackers
that he could not die.
Only after smoking a pipe, he told them, would he be able to leave his body
and enter another life.
Only after having a little smoke.

¶ 23 Kuiŋini amuk'amiuŋ, immiamiuŋ.
24 Maasizailat nauŋ, iknaluni piuŋna.tuq.

25 Patuaġaa kuiŋini.

26 Iziq marraa qatigaakiŋnin aniaruq, tamauna timiŋaun,
27 tavra qaġrut igiŋitigun.

28 Qayuŋaiq'ami piaik,
29 tavra timini unisuŋnipłuu.

30 Marraa inuuŋaiqtuq.

31 Inuuŋaiqman iġitquuk kaġġaiqłuik,
32 imiġmun iksruaqłuik.
33 Nagasua amupłuu,
34 nagasuanik nazausiaak.

35 Tavra piaitkuziġaluaqłutik, pitqunatik.
36 Uniłuu'aa.

37 Ugiuvaŋmun'aa qimauqłuni taamna Ałłuk.
38 Aŋayuġaaqłuu. Ivruma avapta inniraġiaa,
39 Ugiuvaŋmi taganani.
40 Ałłuk taamna aŋayuġaaqłuu.

¶ 23 He took out his pipe and filled it.
24 They had no matches at that time, but somehow he must have made fire.

25 He puffed on his pipe.

26 The smoke came out of his torso, right through his body,
27 through the wounds that the arrows had made.

28 When he had finished smoking, he said to the two of them
29 that now he was ready to leave his body.

30 Then he stopped living.

31 After he had died, they cut off the tips of his two little fingers
32 and threw them into the water.
33 They took out his bladder
34 and put it over his head like a cap.

35 They did these things to defend themselves, to keep him from harming them.
36 And then they left him.

37 That Ałłuk fled to King Island.
38 He grew to be an old man. My grandfather used to say that there he remained,
39 over on King Island.
40 That Ałłuk lived to be an old man.

# Ałłuum Qitugni Annaigaa

*Iilan Quliapyua*

Iilana:

1 Qitugnaa taamna, Iimuk
2 qaluagniura.tuaq.
3 Tulaktavaga.tuq qaaŋ ilaatni Ugiuvaŋmi?

4 Iuqpaaqtuq.
5 Tuŋnigun mauna killiŋagun uyagait, iuqpaaqtuq,
6 sagvaq kayumiŋman.
7 Iuqpaktuaq.
8 Qaluagniura.tuaq mikłirutiaa,
9 nunaa taavruma tuvvami.

10 Nugatpiagagluzaaq una, qiaŋa.mi,
11 naqmuŋainaq pizukaluaqtuq.
12 Iuqpaktuq awataani.

13 Aŋutaa naalagzaq'ami, qagrimin
14 pigiaqtuq mattaaŋaviura.mi—atikłuiniatni inuit.
15 Nalikagaqsinaqłuni, kamiqa.zina.luni.
16 Agunigun'aa tamauna. [Pikkuŋana: Marraa manna Agunamik pilagaat manna qaluqsraq samma.]

18 Tamauna avrigluni.

# Ałłuk Saves His Son

*Frank Ellanna*

Frank Ellanna:

That son of Ałłuk's, Iimuk,
was out on the ice fishing for blue cod.
The shore ice really piles up sometimes at King Island, doesn't it?

It makes huge pressure ridges.
Here along the edge, by the rocks along the shore, it makes huge pressure ridges
when the current is very strong.
Pressure ridges were building with great intensity.
The ice around the boy fishing for blue cod was getting smaller and smaller,
the place where he was standing on the shore ice.

Crying, the poor young man
wanted to go in one direction or the other.
Ice pressure ridges were forming all around.

When his father heard, out of the qagri
he rushed, naked to the waist—this was before people wore shirts.
He was wearing only pants and mukluks.
He went down toward the shore through the Aguniq. [Aloysius Pikonganna (pointing to a photograph of King Island): Aguniq is what they call this gully in the middle of the village.]

He ran down, half sliding.

¶ 19 Taunuŋa natuqinami,
20 iuqpaktuamun,
21 agraŋni aaqhaatuqaaqłuik,
22 patikaa imna iuqpaktuaq.
23 Aulaiqpiura.tuġuuq marraa.

24 Immaguuq qagipazuktuq qituġnaa.
25 Aulaiqtiviuraaaguuq iuqpaktuaq.

¶ 19 When he reached the bottom of the island,
20 he went to where the ice was piling up,
21 and after breathing on his hands,
22 he slapped them down on the growing pile of ice.
23 The motion of the ice stopped right away.

24 Then his son climbed to safety.
25 He stopped the growing ice pile right away.

# Qaksram Aknigua

*Iilan Quliapyua*

1 Quirunaguuq una
2 aituusiaminik tamatkunakŋa kipłuaviniġnik aliġviniġnik
3 uktamini kaŋiġaluŋmi
4 qagriura.miuni, uuma ugua qagriani qagriura.miuni.
5 Paukami naqtiŋaruaqa.tuq,
6 aliġviniġnik, akłunaaviniġnik.

7 Uvvaa imna, Niuvinaa?
8 Kinali imna...
9 Tuuġniruaq,
10 atqa.tiqtuaq, inuułhatuaq.

11 Mayuqtiyaġituqman
12 piŋiksraliġaa Ałłuum.
13 "Suakiaġuuq imna. Alakaġaġumiuŋuuq kiaq imna."

14 Sauyamik pik'ami atqa.tiqtuq,
15 inuułhanun, taimana.

16 Muluqpaŋnatik, taamna uvvaa mayuqtatuq.
17 Aŋiruq, aipaaga, piŋaaqtaaga.

18 Aviġiaat, "Naukŋaa Ałłuk?"

# Qaksraq's Revenge

*Frank Ellanna*

Quiruna, it is said,
gathered strips of walrus rawhide thong that had been given to him
and put them in a corner where he kept his tools and things,
in a little qagri, a house which used to belong to Aloysius Pikonganna's ancestors.
Hanging on a peg in the wall
were lengths of ugruk rawhide thong and rope.

Was that Niuvina back then?
Now who could it have been...
He was performing a shamanic rite and
went deep into a trance, and his spirit left his body.

When he didn't come back up for a long time,
Ałłuk became worried about him.
"I wonder what's happened to him. Perhaps I should go check on him, the one who has gone so far away."

Taking his drum, he descended into a trance,
so that he could reach the other man's spirit in that way.

The two of them hadn't been gone long, when the first one came right back up.
The other man came back to life, the one whom Ałłuk had worried about.

They asked him, "What has happened to Ałłuk?"

¶ 19 Immaguuq tatkiani uani,
20 itiġiaqtuataami qiniġaluaġaa.

21 Ilłutik. Uqqutaqa.tuq iŋna naniq, tuktanik.
22 Talutaġaqtuq.
23 Pigitqataqtuq ikna.

24 Pigitqataqtigaluaqłuu samma nipłiraaġuuratalaman, alakaaat.
25 Aŋayuġaksraġuuq una.
26 Qiliqsrazimaruq.
27 Iluiliulavakłuni akłunaanik tamatkunakŋa qaptitaluni qiliqsralugit.
28 Laqłauvaktuanik panna.luuvaktuanik
29 qiliqsrazimaruq, aŋayuġaksraq.

30 Taavrumaguuq inuktaan nalausimagaa tavrani, Ugiuvaŋmi.
31 Qiliqsralugu'aa.

32 Aŋitamatniguuq,
33 aŋayuġaksra.vak una paamaktuq taganuŋa natiġmun,
34 qiaŋa.mi, ataatanilu aakanilu tuqłuaina.lugik. [igla.tut]
35 Tuqłuaqłuik.

36 Aksruġuuq tavrani taamna Qaksraq Ugiuvaŋmi.
37 Taamnaguuq tatqawani ittuaq iŋmiina.viuraq nalausimagaa,
38 inuuŋaiqtigaa.



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¶ 19 He said that just outside there,
20 as he was coming in, he saw him.

21 They waited a while. The lamp across the room was shielded by bales of walrus meat.
22 It had a sort of screen.
23 The screen started moving around over there.

24 After watching it move around for a while, something began to make an awful groaning noise, and they went to see what it was.
25 It turned out to be the old man, Ałłuk.
26 He was all tied up.
27 He was tied up tightly and in a very uncomfortable position with those ropes of Quiruna's.
28 With ropes that had been dried until they were very stiff,
29 that old man was tied up.

30 The man he had murdered finally found him, right there on King Island.
31 And he tied him up.

32 When they had untied him,
33 this very old man began crawling along the floor,
34 crying and calling for his father and mother. [laughter]
35 He kept calling for them.

36 That Qaksraq took his revenge right there on King Island.
37 And his other murderer, who lived around Qawiaraq, he found him right away also,
38 and took his life.

*VILLAGERS AND CHRIST THE KING. Father Hubbard (to the right of center, wearing skin mukluks) and his party, including Father Lafortune (to the right of the statue, wearing a cap) placed a cast bronze statue of Christ the King high above the village in October 1937. King Islanders gathered for the dedication. Aulaġana stands to the right of Father Hubbard, and Frank Ellanna can be seen peeking through the crowd at left, his face partially obscured by a man and two boys who are wearing caps.*

# Appendix A
# King Island Last Names

Eskimos are traditionally given a single name at birth, and names are not restricted by gender. Personal names typically became last names when missionaries wrote them in baptismal records, giving the person at the same time an English first name. The wife or descendant of a person whose Eskimo name had become his English last name would usually bear the same last name. For example, Frank Ellanna's Eskimo name is Ellanna, as spelled by the missionaries, or Iilana, in the Inupiaq writing system. Original "English" spellings are used for last names, although these spellings do not always represent the Inupiaq pronunciation clearly. In this list of King Island last names, we give the "English" spelling and respell the names also in the Inupiaq orthography to assist in correct pronunciation. In the text and photo captions of the book, we use both Eskimo and English names, depending on the context and the information that was available.

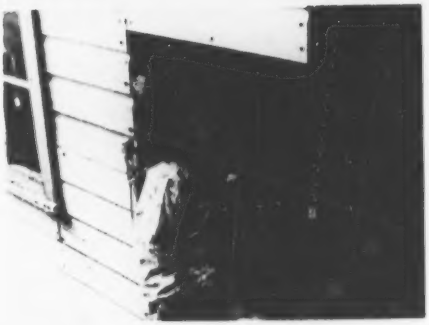
| **"English" spelling** | **Inupiaq spelling** |
|---|---|
| Ellanna | Iilana |
| Pikonganna | Pikkuŋana |
| Muktoyuk | Maktuayaq |
| Omiak | Umiaq (a Diomede name) |
| Kasgnoc | Kazinŋak |
| Pullock | Pullaq |
| Sirloak | Siġluaq |
| Seeganna | Siigana |
| Olanna | Aulaġana |
| Ayek | Aayiiq |
| Patunnac | Patuŋnaq |
| Mayac | Maayaq |

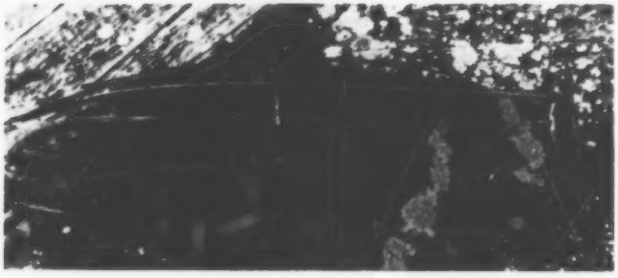
| | |
|---|---|
| Angusuc | Aŋusruk |
| Alvanna | Alvana |
| Penatac | Paniataaq |
| Kokuluk | Kuukuluk |
| Nerezok | Niġiruq |
| Koezuna | Quiruna |
| Anuyuanna | Aŋuyauna |
| Mezanna | Mizana |
| Sagmiganna | Saŋmiġana |
| Aluk | Ailuk |
| Kunnuk | Kunnuk |
| Koyuk | Quyuk |
| Alik | Aalik |
| Tattayunna | Tattayuna |
| Katak | Qattaq |
| Katexac | Katiqsraq |
| Kalarzaruk | Qilaġruaq |
| Sebwenna | Savgana |
| Payenna | Payana |
| Saclamana | Saġlamana |
| Taxac | Taqsraq |
| Tiulana | Tiulana |
| Pushruk | Pusrruq |
| Natungok | Naataaŋuq |

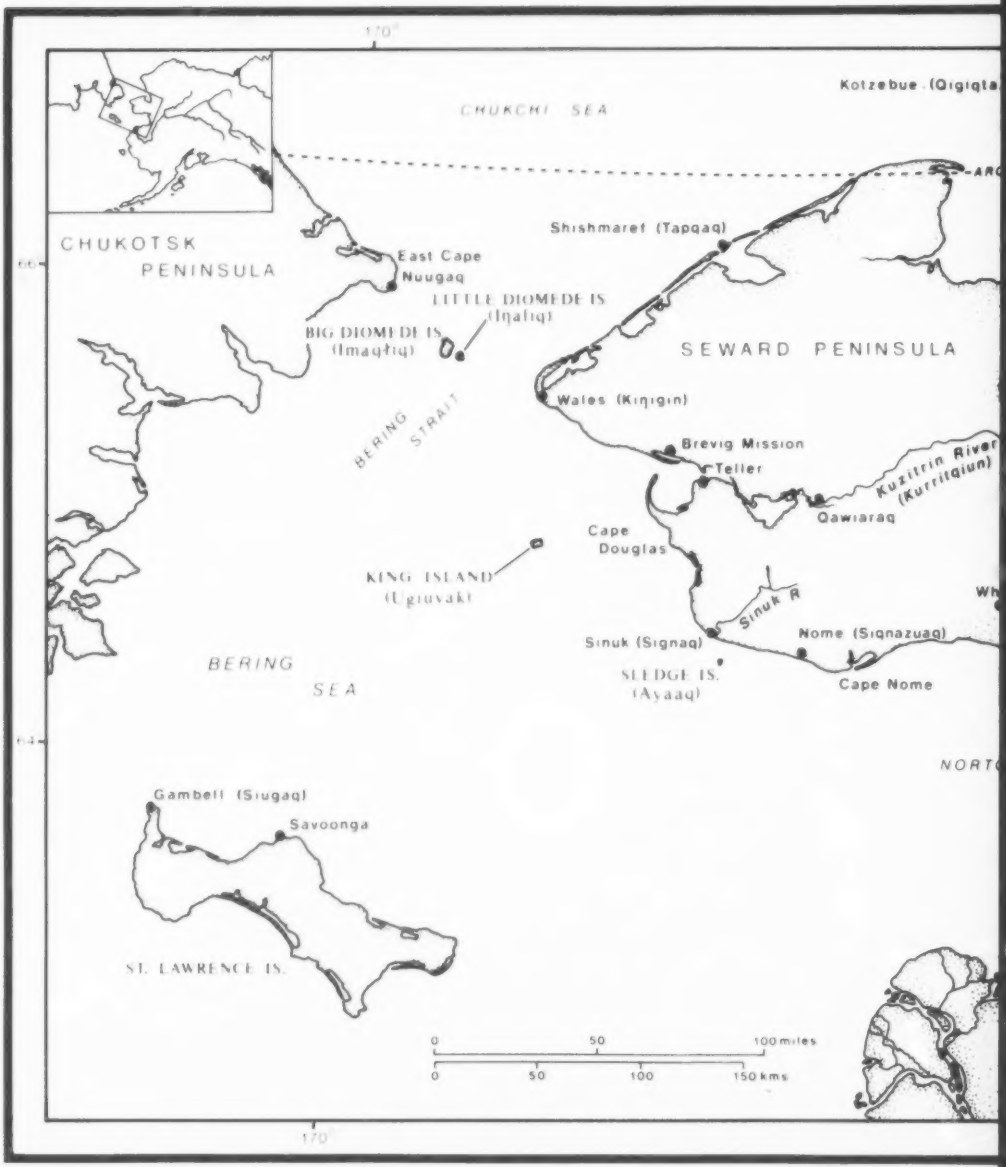
# Appendix B
# King Island in 1974

*Father Louis Renner took these photos when he accompanied King Islanders on a summer visit to the island in June 1974. Note especially the ruins of the Aguliit qagri (below) and the rock exterior of the Nutaat qagri (right).*

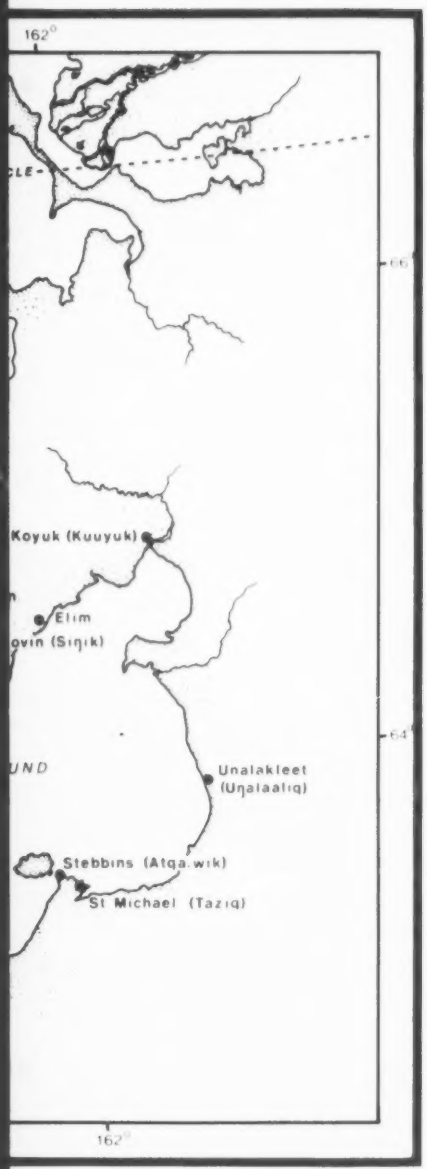
*The woman on the following page is the late Barbara Kokuluk, sister of Ursula Ellanna. The rock formation known as Qulaguq, mentioned in "The Cormorant Hunters," looms above the village in the photo at the far right on p. 255.*






170°
CHUKCHI SEA
Kotzebue (Qiqiqta
CHUKOTSK
PENINSULA
East Cape
Nuugaq
Shishmaref (Tapqaq)
LITTLE DIOMEDE IS
(Iqaliq)
BIG DIOMEDE IS
(Imaqliq)
SEWARD PENINSULA
Wales (Kiŋigin)
BERING STRAIT
Brevig Mission
Teller
Kuzitrin River
(Kurritqiun)
Qawiaraq
Cape
Douglas
KING ISLAND
(Ugiuvak)
Sinuk R
Sinuk (Signaq)
Nome (Siqnazuaq)
BERING
SEA
SEEDGE IS.
(Ayaaq)
Cape Nome
Gambell (Siugaq)
Savoonga
ST. LAWRENCE IS.
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 150 kms
170°

256




# Appendix C: About King Island

King Island is located in the Bering Sea, southeast of Bering Strait. Its Inupiaq name, Ugiuvak, appears to be derived from the word stem *ugiuq*, meaning "winter" or "year," and possibly the suffix *-vak*, meaning "big." In 1778, Capt. James Cook of the British Royal Navy became one of the first white men to see the island. He called it King Island after his executive officer, Lt. James King.

Just two and a half miles long and one and a half miles wide, and from 700 to 1,196 feet in elevation, the island can be seen from the mainland at Cape Douglas thirty-five miles away. The shoreline consists almost entirely of steep embankments with no beach. Boats can be landed in only three locations. The village is built on a rock slide on the south side of the island. East of the village flows a stream, called *kuuk*, which provided water for the King Islanders in summer and fall. During the rest of the year they melted snow for water.

In 1950 the island's population was reported to be about 150, but by 1960 it had declined to 49. Most King Islanders had by then moved to Nome.



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# Suggested Reading


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"No one really knows who the first people on King Island were or how they started their village. The old people of our times have told much about the way things were done long ago..."

—*Ursula Ellanna*

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